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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXVII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.)

Nos. I TO IV.—1898: (WITH 14 PLATES).

EDITED BY THE
HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY,

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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.” SIR WM. JONES.

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ERRATA.

P.	L.	For	Read
32	Last	<i>tsok^u</i>	<i>tsö^uk^u</i>
„	„	<i>tswak^u</i>	<i>tsö^uk^u</i>
34	16	<i>dob^u</i>	<i>dö^ub^u</i>
„	„	<i>dwabiñ</i>	<i>dö^ubiñ</i>
35	6	39	38
47	11-14	Substitute the following—	

If the final consonant of a noun in this declension is preceded by *u*, that *u* is changed to *a* in all cases except the Nominative Singular. Thus, वाँदुर् *wādur*, a monkey; nom. pl., वाँदर *wādar*; instr. pl. वाँदरौ *wādarau* सूतिन् *sūtin*: करन् *karun*, the act of doing; acc. sg. करनस् *karanas*: पस्तुख् *pöstukh*, a book; nom. pl., पोस्तुख् *postakh*.

75	4	<i>kunasatāth</i>	<i>kunasatath</i> (and so throughout the seventies up to 78).
„	24	<i>kunanamāth</i>	<i>kunanamath</i> (and so throughout the nineties up to 99).
91	3	<i>w or v</i>	<i>w or v, or</i>
196	4	ग्राकञ् <i>grākṇ</i>	ग्राकञ् <i>grakañ</i>
232	19	substances	substantives
294	8	प्रनिवासिनश्च	प्रति०
295	12	शासनमनुभति०	०मति०

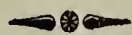




JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1898.

Notes on new inscriptions discovered by Major Deane.—By M. A. STEIN.
Part I.

(With Plates I–VII.)

[Read December, 1897.]

It was in the autumn of 1894, that a paper read by M. SENART, before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists and subsequently published in the *Journal asiatique*¹ drew the attention of all Indologists to the remarkable series of epigraphical documents, which the zeal of Major H. A. DEANE, c.s.i., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshawer, had brought to light on the northern border of this district and in the independent territory beyond it. These inscriptions from the ancient *Gandhāra* and *Udyāna* have attracted all the more interest as the characters which appear in the great majority of them, have previously been wholly unknown and differ strangely from any known system of Indian writing.

Major DEANE has since continued his epigraphical search with unfailing energy, notwithstanding the heavy and responsible official duties which his appointment as Political Officer during the Chitral campaign and subsequently as Political Agent for Swat and Dir must

¹ *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*.—V. *Les Récentes Découvertes du Major Deane*, *Journal asiatique*, 1894, tome iv., pp. 332–353; 504–518. Also in reprint, *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, Fascic. 5., 1895.

have thrown upon him. The exceptional success which has attended his efforts in the interest of research, is amply illustrated by the fact that the number of new inscriptions which he has forwarded to Lahore since M. SENART'S publication, is nearly twice as great again as the number comprised in the latter. These epigraphical documents have reached Lahore either in the form of the actual stones where these were obtainable, or as ink impressions on paper or cloth, taken by Major DEANE'S agents in the case of inscriptions beyond British territory which could not be secured otherwise.

The stones with inscriptions have been deposited without exception in the Lahore Museum which contains now also the stones previously communicated to M. SENART for publication. In order to keep together in the same place, as far as possible, all that bears on the epigraphy of those interesting regions, Major DEANE has been kind enough to entrust to me the impressions above referred to. For this mark of confidence which I must value all the more in view of the great trouble and the expense connected with the collection of these materials, I may be allowed to express here publicly my grateful acknowledgments.

By making me in this manner the depositary for at least a part of his discoveries, Major DEANE has also, as it were, put me under the obligation of bringing them to the notice of fellow students. From a personal point of view I might well have wished that the honour of this first publication may have fallen on one more competent than myself and better able to do it justice. The want of necessary leisure at Lahore and the obligation of devoting whatever time was at my disposal in Kashmir, to my translation of Kalhana's Chronicle, have prevented me from making that minute study of the inscriptions 'in unknown characters' which seems indispensable even for the slightest advance towards their decipherment. As these inscriptions form the great majority of the new finds, I must also regret my want of acquaintance with that field of philological research which, as will be seen below, might possibly furnish a clue to these puzzling documents.

Under these circumstances, I hope to meet best the interests of those who are in a position to undertake a serious study of these monuments, if I avail myself without further delay of the opportunity offered by the Asiatic Society's kindness in order to publish the new inscriptions in unknown characters in faithful mechanical reproductions. To the latter I have added such information regarding the find-spots, present condition, etc., of the inscriptions as Major DEANE has communicated either along with the inscriptions themselves or in subsequent letters addressed to me. My own remarks must necessarily be restricted to a few observations which the examination of the docu-

ments themselves and the grouping on the map of their places of origin have suggested to me.

In a separate notice I intend to discuss the few short Sanskrit inscriptions in Çāradā characters which have reached Lahore along with those in unknown characters.

The order in which the inscriptions have been shown in the following list, is chiefly based on topographical considerations which will be explained below. I have indicated for each inscription or group of inscriptions the information received regarding it from Major DEANE, but have reserved further details regarding the position of the find-spots for the succeeding remarks. In each case it has been shown whether the stone itself or only an impression has been received. For purposes of subsequent reference I have given in brackets the numbers which the inscriptions bear in the Museum Catalogue or in my own list of impressions. The plates accompanying this paper show the inscriptions reduced, according to a simple scale, to one-half, one-fourth or one-eighth of the original. The actual size of the characters and of the written surface of a stone can thus be ascertained with ease and accuracy.

In the case of all stones deposited in the Museum and in that of a number of impressions, the reproductions given in the plates have been prepared from photographs which my friend Mr. F. H. ANDREWS, Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, and Curator of the Lahore Museum, has most kindly placed at my disposal. For the help thus rendered I wish to record here my sincere obligation.

M. SENART'S remarks, *l.c.* pp. 13 sqq., have already made clear the serious difficulty which is caused by the impossibility of determining in most cases the position intended for the inscription, *i.e.*, what is to be considered as its top or foot. For a few inscriptions (Nos. 39, 40, 43, 53) Major DEANE has indicated the original position, and this point has accordingly been noted in the list. For the great mass of the stones and impressions, however, no direct evidence of this kind is available. I have accordingly been obliged to follow M. SENART'S example and to arrange the reproductions on the plates either with reference to certain peculiarities in the shape of the stones which suggested a particular position, or by the still less safe guidance of the direction of writing which the characters themselves seemed to me to exhibit. As I have as little as my learned predecessor succeeded in finding conclusive evidence for any inscription as to the direction in which the characters are to be read, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the position in which all these inscriptions are shown on the plates, is purely conjectural.

The list of the inscriptions is as follows :—

1. Stone, obtained from *Spankharra*.² (Mus. 64 ; scale of reproduction, one-half of original).

2. Stone, found in mound at *Khalil Banda* (near Toru, Yusufzai). (Mus. 37 ; scale one-half).

3-19. Impressions on cloth “ of small stones found buried together near an old Buddhist wall and at the foot of a cliff. The place is near *Darwazgai* and about a mile S. S. E. from *Spankharra*.” “ These little stones were buried in a small receptacle at the foot of the cliff and covered over with another stone.” Nos. 5 and 6 inscribed on two sides of the same stone. (Nos. xxi.-xxxvii. ; scale one-half).

20. Impression of a stone “ in possession of a Sheikh at *Spankharra*. It is not known where it was originally found. Used by him for baking his food on.” (No. xx. ; scale one-half).

21-23. Impressions on cloth of 3 small stones sent to Lahore Museum in August 1896. The characters resemble those on impressions 3-19. [A subsequent note by Major DEANE informs me that these stones form part of the *Darwazgai* find, but were obtained since the first lot of impressions, i.e., Nos. 3-19.] (Nos. xli.-xliii. ; scale one-half).

24. Stone “ from the hill above *Elai*, Boner ; (no ruin near).” (Mus. 65 ; scale one-half).

25. Stone “ buried in the soil near an old spring at *Elai*, Boner.” (Mus. 63 ; scale one-half).

26. Impression on paper of an inscription at *Tangi*, near *Miangam* village, on Ilm, Boner.”

(No. i. ; scale one-half).

27. Impression on cloth “ of an inscription on a stone in the wall of the house of a Mulla, *Torsak* in Boner. It is said to have been taken originally from some old ruins with other stones for building purposes.” (No. v. ; scale one-half).

28. Impression on cloth “ of a few letters inscribed on a stone lying in the jungle in the *Malandri* Valley which is the continuation of the *Sudhum* Valley towards the Boner Hills and *Malandri* Pass.” (No. vi. ; scale one-half).

[28b. Impression on paper (No. xixb.) “ of an inscription on a stone lying near the village of *Padshah* in Boner, broken in half,” is too

² I have followed throughout in local names the spelling of Major Deane's notes, and have not attempted to transcribe them according to the Society's system, as their actual pronunciation is unknown to me.

indistinct to be reproduced. The few characters of which traces are visible, resemble those of Nos. 26, 28 above.]

29. Impression on paper "of a stone at *Ilm-o-Mianz* in Boner, near Padshah and Bichounai on Ilm. It was at one time built into the walls of a Masjid and removed as unfit to be in a Masjid wall. It is still lying in the Masjid in the Miangam village, too large to be moved."

(No. iii. ; scale one-eighth.)

30. Impression on paper of "broken bit of stone lying near the other at *Ilm-o-Mianz*, Boner."

(No. ii. ; scale one-fourth.)

31. Impression on cloth of inscription "found near *Shahbazgarhi*." Stone sent to Lahore Museum.

(No. xxxix. ; scale one-half.)

32-34. Impressions on cloth of inscriptions "lying close to the village of *Chargam* in *Puran*, a country above Boner. They were found bound together, one on the top of the other. Ruins exist near where they were found, but nothing is known as to where they originally came from." In a note dated 13th April, 1896, Major DEANE [adds: "The three inscriptions are on separate slabs, and the three of them had been fastened together with hasps in order evidently to remove them. As the fastening had been made by the stones having been bored through, I can only conjecture that they were put together by the original inhabitants of the country and they must have lain a long time in the place where they were found."

(Nos. xvii., xviii., xix. ; scales one-eighth, one-fourth and one-half, respectively. Impression No. 32 being of exceptional length had to be shown on the plate divided into two portions. A part of the central piece of the impression, measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches on plate, has been reproduced both in the left and right portions.)

35. Impression on paper of inscription found in "the valley leading up from Surkhavi to *Surah* in Chamla. It was found about 5 miles from Surkhavi and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from *Surah*."

(No. xxxviii. ; scale one-fourth.)

36. Impressions on cloth of two sides of stone "found at *Shera* in Amazai territory."

(No. xl. ; sent to Lahore Museum ; scale one-half.)

37. Stone "found in *Asgram*."

(Mus. 60 ; scale one-half.)

38. Stone "found lying amongst ruins at *Asgram*."

(Mus. 62 ; scale one-half.)

39. Stone "from *Palosdarra* ; in situ, round edge uppermost."

(Mus. 69; scale one-fourth. Reproduced in woodcut by M. Senart, p. 25.)

40. Stone "from *Palosdarra* ; found in situ."

(Mus. 66; scale one-fourth.)

41. Stone "from *Palosdarra*."

(Mus. 83; scale one-fourth.)

42. Stone "from *Palosdarra*."

(Mus. 84; scale one-fourth.)

43. Stone "from *Suludheri*; in situ, standing on end, thin end top."

(Mus. 68; scale one-fourth.)

44. Stone "from *Khudukhel* territory."

(Mus. 82; scale one-fourth.)

45. Stone "from an old wall at *Sarpatti*, a spur of Mahaban overlooking Chamla."

(Mus. 61; scale one-fourth.)

46. Stone "from *Kaldarra*, near Dargai."

(Mus. 77; scale one-fourth.)

47. Stone "found at *Zangi Khan Banda*, Boner. Had been removed from ruin and built into wall of Masjid. Came probably from site of Nos. 48-50."

(Mus. 70; scale one-fourth.)

48-50. Stones "dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stupa completely buried in the ground at *Bughdarra* which is the ravine near *Zangi Khan Banda* in Boner."

(Mus. 79-81; scale of No. 48 one-fourth, of Nos. 49 and 50 one-half.)

51. Stone "from *Khrappa*, Panjpao, Boner."

(Mus. 67; thin piece of slatey stone with characters on both sides; scale one-fourth.)

52. Impression on paper of inscription "from rock on hill above *Odigram*, Swat."

(No. vii.; scale one-fourth.)

53. Impression on paper "from rock near *Odigram*, Upper Swat."

(No. ix.; scale one-fourth.)

54. Impression on paper "taken from a stone lying near *Kanai*, *Ilaqa Kana*, near *Ghorband* between Swat and the Indus."

(No. viii.; scale one-fourth.)

55-60. Impressions on cloth of Sgraffitti "on rocks found close together on the banks of the *Swat* river, just above *Ramora* Fort on the right bank and at the boundary of the *Adinzai* Valley."

(Nos. xi.-xvi.; scale one-eighth.)

M. SENART had already clearly recognized the fact that the inscriptions before him showed at least three distinct types of writing, each of which, on examining the find-spots of the inscriptions exhibiting it, could be connected with a well-defined locality or territorial division. These types which he accordingly distinguished under the very appropriate name of *Spankharra*, *Boner* and *Mahaban*, are all largely represented among the new inscriptions. It is a fresh proof of M. SENART's well-known penetration and sagacity as an epigraphist that the local distribution of the new inscriptions entirely supports his grouping.

This fact is most convincingly illustrated in the case of M. SENART's first group, that of *Spankharra*. Though M. SENART had only a single small inscription—probably a fragment—to place under this head, he did not fail to realize that its characters, both in form and execution, differ considerably from those met with in the other two classes. Their curiously irregular scrawly lines made M. SENART compare them rightly enough to mere Sgraffitti. These we now find reappearing on not less than twenty-three specimens which all, with one doubtful exception, come from the same locality or its immediate vicinity. *Spankharra* lies in Ranizai territory just beyond the northernmost point of the Hashtnagar Tahsil, circ. $71^{\circ} 42'$ E. Long. $34^{\circ} 27'$ N. Lat. according to the Revenue Survey Map of the Peshawar District.³

No. 1 is a fragment resembling closely M. SENART's No. 1. More interesting is the collection of small stones Nos. 3–19, 21–23 which were found packed together “in a small receptacle at the foot of a cliff” near *Darwazgai*, about a mile from *Spankharra*. It would be of little use in the absence of an accurate description of the spot to make conjectures as to the purpose of this peculiar deposit. But it deserves to be noted that all the little stones show different groups of characters, some so curiously twisted and cursive as to suggest monograms or signatures. Some stones, in particular Nos. 18, 19, seem to contain also a few characters resembling those found on the inscriptions of the second (*Boner*) and third (*Mahaban*) classes. But from the majority of the characters and the general appearance of the writing it is evident that none of the stones can be specially connected with either of these

³ “*District Peshawar*”; scale 1 inch to 4 miles; photozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1884. This map shows the “independent” territory immediately to the north of the Peshawar District with more detail than the corresponding sheet of the Atlas of India or other maps at present accessible to the public. As the topography of the hill tracts beyond the border is (apart from peaks fixed trigonometrically) not shown on the basis of any regular survey, the geographical positions indicated above for localities in that territory cannot be accurate. They are intended merely to facilitate identification on the map named.

classes. The same remark applies to No. 20, the "Sheikh's baking stone" which is the largest specimen of this type of writing and also exhibits a closer approach to regular lines.

Regarding No. 2, the only piece showing the characters of the Spankharra type, which was not actually obtained from that locality, Major DEANE believes that it may have been carried to *Banda Khalil* (a small hamlet south of Hoti-Mardan in Yusufzai) by a *Tālib*, it having been a *Tālib* from whom he got it.

The second type which M. SENART designated as that of *Boner*, was represented in his collection by four inscriptions all found near the village of *Bichounai* on the southern slopes of Mount Ilm, which divides Boner and Swat. M. SENART has already called attention, *l. c.*, p. 17, to the relatively large number of complicated and elaborate characters found in this group. This peculiarity induced him to separate it from the third, notwithstanding the common occurrence of certain simpler signs in both of them.

That this distinction was justified, is now shown by the new inscriptions gathered from the same region, Nos. 24–33. They all show a great variety of signs of a peculiarly elaborate type, either identical with or similar to the characters found on the Bichounai inscriptions.

As the find-spots of the new inscriptions are situated with one exception within the territory known as Boner, the designation given to this group by M. SENART has proved singularly felicitous. At the same time we can see from a glance at the map that the localities which have furnished these inscriptions, are spread over a considerable tract of country.

Nos. 24 and 25 come from *Elai* situated in the central part of Boner, circ. 72° 28' E. Long., 34° 32' N. Lat. No. 26 is a somewhat indistinct impression of a stone found near *Miangam*, a village on Ilm and hence probably not far from Bichounai. *Ilm* itself is shown on the 'Atlas of India' Sheet No. 14, as the name of the mountain range whose highest point is Peak No. 81 (9,341 feet) as marked by the Trigonometrical Survey. *Torsak*, where the original of No. 27 is said to be walled into a house, is a place about 3 miles due west of *Elai*.

Ilm-o-Mianz, where Nos. 29 and 30 come from, is a village which according to Major DEANE's information is situated somewhere on the southern slopes of Mount Ilm and near to Bichounai and Padshah. From the latter place was obtained the impression No. 28b. Still further to the north lies apparently *Chargam*, in Puran, which has furnished the interesting inscriptions Nos. 32–34.

To the south we are taken again by the small inscription No. 28 which was picked up in the *Malandri* Valley leading up from Rustam

and Surkhabi to the Malandri Pass, circ. $72^{\circ}26'$ E. long., $34^{\circ}24'$ N. Lat. Finally we have in No. 31, a small stone recently found at *Shahbazgarhi* far to the south of the Boner hills.

Some significance may, perhaps, be attached to the fact that this group of inscriptions which seems topographically to extend over the widest area, is also the one in which varieties of the same system of writing can be most readily distinguished.

In their clearest and sharpest form the characters appear in the four inscriptions from *Bichounai* (M. Senart's Nos. 2-5) which look as if engraved by the same mason or after an identical pattern. Closest to them range in this respect our Nos. 26-27 from *Tangi* and *Torsak*, though here the characters bear a slightly more rounded form. Similar in type are also Nos. 24-25 from *Elai*, but the execution is far less careful. Both these little inscriptions are cut into rough stones of small size which do not appear to have ever belonged to a building or other structure.

With a peculiarly cursive yet clear enough form of these characters we meet on the three inscriptions from *Chargam*, Nos. 32-34, which, as Major DEANE'S note seems to show, were originally fastened together. No. 34 contains only a few stray signs which, however, can be traced also in the far more regular lines of the other two inscriptions.

Nos. 28 and 31 from *Malandri* and *Shahbazgarhi*, respectively, are too small to show any striking peculiarity of their own. Such, however, is amply displayed by the large-sized characters of No. 29 from *Ilm-o-Mianz*. I should have hesitated to class this inscription with the Boner group, were it not that on closer examination the peculiarity of these characters appears to be due more to a kind of ornamentation with hooks and flourishes than to any real difference of type. The fragment No. 30 from the same locality can certainly not be separated from this group, the shape of the few signs approaching closely to some found on No. 24.

With the Boner group too, I have thought it best to arrange Nos. 35 and 36 which come both from valleys lying to the north of the Mahaban range and opening into Boner proper. No. 35 found near *Surah*, circ. $72^{\circ}36'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ}24'$ N. Lat., shows a few characters resembling the Boner type, arranged in a circle amidst what are evidently symbols. A similar arrangement is exhibited by M. SENART'S No. 4 from *Bichounai*.

No. 36 which comes from *Shera*, a locality of uncertain position in Amazai territory, is a small loose stone showing on both sides scrawls which may be compared with a few signs occurring on No. 30 and elsewhere.

I cannot conclude this brief notice of the inscriptions of the Boner group without pointing out that this is the only one in which inscriptions of an approximately monumental look have yet been met with. The inscriptions of the first or Spankharra group are scarcely more than Sgraffitti on small stones which show no mark of having been specially prepared for bearing records. The inscriptions of the third group to be noticed next are also without exception engraved on stones of comparatively small size which, whether found detached or fitted into walls, are equally irregular in their shape. Against this, we find in the Boner group several inscriptions of greater size, like M. SENART's No. 5 and our Nos. 27, 29, 30 which are engraved in regular lines and evidently with far more care and routine than those referred to.

The new inscriptions of the third or *Mahaban* group, Nos. 37-41, come almost all from the identical localities from which M. SENART's specimens were procured. *Asgram* lies at the end of a spur which runs down from Mount Mahaban to the south, at a point circ. $72^{\circ} 45'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 7'$ N. Lat. *Palosdarra* according to Major DEANE's note seems to be situated about $72^{\circ} 35'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 9'$ N. Lat. close to the village Boka marked on the map near the Border towards Khudukhel territory. *Suludheri* seems to be about 3 to 4 miles to the north of Boka. The Khudukhel territory begins immediately to the west and north of Suludheri. *Sarpatti* is the name of a spur running to the north-west of Mahaban; its highest point is marked on the map at $72^{\circ} 40'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 21'$ N. Lat.

Whereas the find-spots of all the other inscriptions of this group are closely gathered round the spurs of Mount Mahaban, No. 46 which comes from *Kaldarra* near Dargai takes us far away to the west into the vicinity of the Malakand Pass.

Regarding the characters which appear on these stones in such bewildering variety I have nothing to add to M. SENART's remarks, p. 21 *sqq.* No. 41 is of some interest as a socket cut into the stone, evidently with the intention of fitting it to another, makes it probable that the original position of the stone was the one shown in the plate. At the same time it appears that the inscription was engraved *after* the stone had been fitted in the above manner, as none of the characters falling near the cut edges seem to be mutilated. If a conclusion can be drawn from the fact that in the three outer lines which follow the rounded contour of the stone, the terminal signs below are cut up to the very edge of the socket, a direction of the writing from right to left would appear probable.

Perhaps the most curious of the new inscriptions in unknown characters are the five stones Nos. 47-51, which come from *Zangi Khan*

Banda and *Khrappa* in Boner. The characters which they exhibit, differ so strikingly in form and arrangement from those found on any of the inscriptions hitherto mentioned, that I cannot hesitate to recognize in them a fourth independent type. As both Zangi Khan Banda and Khrappa fall within the tract occupied by the clan of the *Nurizai*, I should suggest provisionally for these inscriptions the name of *Nurizai* group. The first named locality from which four of the stones have been obtained, lies according to the map close to the range of the hills which forms the southern boundary of Boner towards British territory, circ. $72^{\circ} 25'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 26'$ N. Lat. *Khrappa* is marked as *Krapa* on the map, some 7 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Zangi Khan Banda and not far from Elai.

The inscriptions of the new group are already outwardly distinguished from the rest by the peculiar shape of the stones on which they are engraved. These are all longish pieces of a slaty material which as the dowel on No. 47 and the socket on No. 48 show, were evidently intended to be placed upright, i.e. with one of the narrower sides topmost. Another distinguishing feature is the engraved frame of straight lines which encloses all inscriptions except No. 49. On the reverse of No. 51 and in part of No. 47 the characters are actually attached to these lines.

The characters themselves which seem to consist of a series of curves, angles and simple strokes either separate or combined, do not show (except perhaps in part of No. 47), any approach to a linear arrangement such as we have found in the inscriptions of the other groups. If the information recorded regarding Nos. 48–50 is correct in describing their find-spots as a buried *Stūpa*, we could have little doubt as to the votive character of these small monuments which is suggested already by their shape.

The only reason for grouping together in the list and plates the series of impressions shown in Nos. 52–60, is that the stones from which they were taken are all situated in *Swat* territory or in its immediate vicinity. Leaving aside Nos. 55–60 in which some marks are perhaps mere symbols, we find that the characters of the other three inscriptions differ markedly from those found in the four groups above described, without yet showing any distinct affinity amongst themselves. No. 52 comes, perhaps, nearest to the type of the Mahaban group, but exhibits yet peculiarities which make it inadvisable for the present to range it under that head. In No. 53 again, which like the last-named inscription is engraved on a rock near *Odigram* (some ten miles north-east of Thana on the Swat river), we have characters of a peculiar rounded shape which bear no resemblance whatever to those of the third group.

No. 54 comes from the vicinity of *Ghorband* which is described by Major DEANE as a "range of hills running parallel with the Indus for a short distance and northward or possibly a little N. W. from the Ilm and Dossira mountains." A few of the simple characters shown by this inscription occur also in the Mahaban group. Others, however, in particular the compounded (?) signs in the first two lines which are attached to horizontal strokes, I have not been able to trace in the large number of inscriptions we already possess of that type.

Until a larger number of inscriptions is obtained from that region, it must be left undecided whether we have in Nos. 52-54 fresh types of writing or only marked local variations of one or the other known group, such as M. SENART has very appropriately suggested (p. 18 note) in the case of Nos. 25 and 26 of his series.

The impressions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 exhibit a series of large Sgraffitti which are found engraved on rocks situated close together at a point on the upper course of the Swat river. Most frequent among them are signs which seem nothing but variations of the Triçūla symbol. In the largest of these 'inscriptions' No. 55, and also in No. 56 there appear a few signs which faintly resemble Devanāgarī or Çāradā letters. On the whole, however, it is improbable that we have in these detached markings anything more than emblematic signs or possibly ideograms of an unknown system.⁴

Large as the number of inscriptions is, which has rewarded Major DEANE's search during the last two years, we look yet in vain among them for one which would furnish a clue to the puzzling characters they display in so bewildering variety. The new inscriptions exhibit as little as those contained in M. SENART's publication any well-defined groups of characters which by their repeated occurrence in particular positions might allow of some conclusion as to their significance or the character of their language.

There are not wanting in the new inscriptions stray signs which show a curious resemblance to the characters of one or the other known alphabets. But after what M. SENART and Prof. BÜHLER have said on this point, it is scarcely necessary to emphasize how hazardous it would be to take the mere resemblance of a few characters, unsupported by other evidence, as the basis for further speculations.

In view of these circumstances it appeared as if we should have to wait with resignation for the discovery of a bilingual stone or some other lucky accident of this kind, before we could approach even the preliminary question of the origin and date of these puzzling monu-

⁴ [For further information regarding the position of these rock-carvings and the manner of their reproduction compare the "Supplementary Notes," p. 17 below.]

ments. All the more gratified we must feel at the recent discovery of a document which has thrown unexpected light on an obscure period of the history of Gandhāra and the neighbouring regions, and which also seems to show us the direction where the means for the future solution of the riddle may have to be sought for.

I refer to the Itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim *Ou-K'ong*, of which Professors LÉVI and CHAVANNES have published a translation, accompanied by very valuable notes, in the *Journal asiatique*, for September-October, 1895. From *Ou-K'ong's* account we learn that the territories of Udyāna and Gandhāra from which our inscriptions come, were during the pilgrim's sojourn there, A.D. 753-759, 763-764, united under the rule of a dynasty which claimed descent from Kaniṣka and was zealously attached to the Buddhist faith. Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES rightly recognize in these rulers Albērūnī's '*Shāhiyas of Kābul*,' 'Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin.'⁵ From the names given to members of this royal family both in *Ou-K'ong's* Itinerary and the T'ang Annals the Editors conclude with great probability, that these princes belonged actually to a dynasty of Turkish nationality and language.⁶

The interesting historical fact thus established fully justifies the Editors in attaching importance to the curious similarity which M. SENART and Prof. BÜHLER had already noticed between certain characters in Major DEANE's inscriptions and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the banks of the Orkhon deciphered by Prof. V. THOMSEN in 1893.⁷ This resemblance deserves all the more attention in view of the fact that the date of these Turkish inscriptions (first

⁵ See Albērūnī's *India*, translated by Prof. Sachau, ii., pp. 10 sqq. Compare regarding this dynasty my paper *Zur Geschichte der Qāhis von Kābul* in 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth,' 1893, pp. 195 sqq.

⁶ See *Journal asiatique*, 1895, vi., p. 378 sq.

It must be noted that the titles *t'e-le* and *t'e-k'in-li* which are most characteristically Turkish, are given in *Ou-K'ong's* narrative not as those of princes belonging to the ruling family of *K'ien-t'o-lo* (Gandhāra), but as designations of 'sons of the king of the *Tou-kiue* or Turks;' see *l. c.*, pp. 354, 357. Though mentioned as founders of Vihāras, both in Kaçmīr and Gandhāra, these princes need not have actually resided in either of these countries. Sufficient evidence, however, remains for the above assumption in the name of *Ou-san Te-le-li*, mentioned as king of Ki-pin in the Chinese Annals, A.D. 739; in the word *houli* which is found in the names of several Vihāras visited by *Ou-K'ong* in Gandhāra, and which seems to be a Turkish term, and finally in the name of the ambassador *Sa-po-ta-kan* whom the ruler of Gandhāra sent to the Chinese court in *Ou-K'ong's* time.

⁷ According to Prof. BÜHLER's observation, '*On the origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet*,' 1895, p. 89, the alphabets of the Orkhon and Yenissei inscriptions show more than a dozen of the signs found in Major DEANE's inscriptions.

half of the 8th century), as already noted by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, falls close to the time of Ou-K'ong's residence in the monasteries of Gandhāra and Udyāna.

These coincidences have led the Editors of Ou-K'ong's Itinerary to suggest a Turkish origin for our inscriptions. They are certainly striking enough to make it most desirable that the unknown characters of the latter should be fully analysed and compared with the Orkhon texts by a competent Turkish scholar. Unable to undertake even the preliminary steps for such a task, I must content myself here with showing that the conclusions drawn by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES from Ou-K'ong as to the existence of a Turkish dominion in Gandhāra, are well supported also by what Hiuen Tsiang had recorded of those regions more than a century earlier.

From Ou-K'ong's reference to Gandhāra as the site of 'the eastern capital of *Ki-pin*' (p. 349), it is certain that in his time as in that of the earlier Chinese pilgrim, Gandhāra was under the same rule as the Upper Valley of the Kābul River.⁸ Hiuen Tsiang tells us distinctly (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i., p. 98) that the Gandhāra of his time 'was governed by deputies from *Kia-pi-shi*.' Accordingly we find that when the pilgrim on his return-journey crossed the Indus near *Uda-bhāṇḍa*, the old capital of Gandhāra at the site of the present *Und*, he was received there by the king of *Kia-pi-shi*; compare *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, translated by Beal, p. 192.

Kia-pi-shi or Kapiṣa is undoubtedly the *Καπίσα* of Ptolemy and identical with the hill-region between Kābul and the southern foot of the Hindukush. In describing its inhabitants Hiuen Tsiang tells us that 'their literature is like that of the Tukhāra (*Tu-ho-lo*) country, but the customs, common language and rules of behaviour are somewhat different' (*Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 54).

Retracing then our steps in the pilgrim's narrative to the country of the *Tu-ho-lo*, i.e., Tukhāristan on the Upper Oxus, we find the numerous petty states constituting it described as all dependent on the *Tuk-kiue* tribes, i.e., the Turks (see *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 37 sq.). The language of the inhabitants is said to "differ somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five; by combining these, they express all objects around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right. Their literary records have increased gradually."

⁸ From the Chinese notices regarding *Ki-pin*, lucidly set forth by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *l.c.*, pp. 371 sqq., it appears that *Ki-pin* as a geographical term in Chinese texts has had a varying employ at different periods. On the whole, however, preponderating evidence points to *Ki-pin* having been originally the designation of the Upper Kābul Valley.

Meagre as these details are they show yet clearly that in searching for the national and literary affinities of the race which held the rule of Kia-pi-shi and Gandhāra in Hiuen Tsiang's time, we have to look to the Turkish tribes in the north and not in the direction of India. A century later Udyāna too had passed under the same dominion. Whereas Hiuen Tsiang speaks yet of independent kings in Udyāna (U-chang-na, *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 121), we see from a passage of the T'ang Annals (*L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong*, p. 349 note) that A.D. 745 this territory was already united with Gandhāra and Kia-pi-shi under the same rule. In that year P'o-p'o, king of Ki-pin, is said to have received the imperial authority for assuming the title of 'King of *Ki-pin* and *Ou-chang*.'

This historical fact would allow us to account for the occurrence of Turkish inscriptions in regions like Swat and Boner which undoubtedly belonged to Udyāna, notwithstanding the record which Hiuen Tsiang has left us as to the connection of the language and writing of Udyāna with that of India.⁹

The publications of the Danish Academy and the Finno-Ugrian Society, containing the Orkhon inscriptions, are to my regret not accessible to me at present. I am, therefore, unable to ascertain with which of the several types of writing distinguished above their characters show most affinity.

Perhaps, a comparison of the Orkhon inscriptions will also throw some light on the relation of these types amongst each other. The first three as well as the fifth have undoubtedly numerous simple characters in common and might represent modifications of one and the same system of writing adapted to different languages or dialects. It is, however, evident that other explanations are also possible, and that all conjectures on the subject must for the present remain extremely hazardous.

Camp, Kashmir: 19th September, 1896.

⁹ "Their language though different in some points, yet greatly resembles that of India. Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before." See *Si-yu-ki*, i. p., 120.

The local names of Swat and Boner, as far as shown on the map, with their frequent terminations in-*grām* and-*kōt*, seem to support the belief that these regions were at a time preceding the Paṭhān conquest inhabited by a population which in its great mass spoke an Indian language. This circumstance, however, could well be reconciled with a prolonged dominion over those territories of Turkish masters or even their temporary occupation by a Turkish-speaking population.

Without going for analogies to Europe where, *e.g.*, the Balkan Peninsula would furnish them in plenty, we may refer to the local nomenclature of the Upper Derajāt along the right Indus bank and to that of Yūsufzai-Gandhāra itself. This has preserved its Indian character notwithstanding the fact that the great mass of the population in these tracts has for centuries back been speaking Puṣṭhu.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

More than a year has passed between the time when this paper was first sent to the press, and the date of its publication. This long delay has been due solely to the difficulty first experienced in providing for the adequate reproduction of the inscriptions. On reference to the only Indian establishment capable of undertaking such work it was found that the required plates could not be prepared there except at a cost which would have considerably exceeded the funds available for this purpose. Even then it seemed doubtful whether the process to be employed would secure satisfactory reproductions of those impressions on paper or cloth which were faint in color or otherwise difficult to reproduce mechanically.

In view of these circumstances, it was particularly gratifying that Mr. W. GRIGGS, of Peckham, London, whose photographic and chromolithographic works have already on many occasions served the interests of Indian archæological and epigraphical research, kindly offered to undertake the task on terms acceptable to the Society's Council. A visit paid to England during the last summer enabled me to watch personally the preparation of the plates. I was thus in a position to appreciate more thoroughly the exceptional care and attention which Mr. GRIGGS has bestowed on the work. The difficulties resulting from the deficient nature of part of the available materials could not have been overcome so successfully without Mr. GRIGGS' personal efforts, and for these my special thanks are due to him.

For the technical defects in many of the available impressions it is easy to account in the light of the explanations with which Major DEANE has favoured me on a subsequent occasion. The persons through whose hands almost all these impressions have been obtained were wandering Pathān Mullās and Tālibs. Individuals of this class, being aware of Major DEANE's interest in epigraphical remains, had for some time back been in the habit of bringing to him any inscribed stones which they came across and could conveniently carry along. Some of them on their wanderings across the border had seen similar stones which either on account of their size or for other reasons could not easily be removed.

Fanaticism among transfrontier tribes, like those of Boner and the Utman Khel, is still strong enough to make the open removal of inscribed stones which may be suspected to be of a 'Kāfir' origin and to give

eventually information as to hidden treasures, etc., a business of considerable risk even for such people. Major DEANE, therefore, thought it best to initiate his occasional visitors into the art of taking impressions on paper or cloth and to provide them with the necessary materials in order to secure through them impressions of stones not otherwise obtainable. Some of them incited by the hope of a small remuneration have actually carried out Major DEANE'S wishes, and the impressions now published (together with a considerable number of others subsequently received) represent the result of their efforts.

It would in no case be reasonable to expect from agents of this peculiar type such work as we are accustomed to from trained assistants of archaeological surveyors in other parts of India. But indeed the awkward conditions under which generally these impressions have to be secured, would render the taking of really good impressions impossible even if Mullās and Tālībīs could be got to learn systematically all the niceties of the art. In order to avoid detection and the consequent risks, Major DEANE'S agents have been obliged to take their impressions in the manner which is easiest and quickest. The orthodox method of taking an impression from the stone by means of wetted paper and with the use of brush and ink, would no doubt have given far better results. Yet by following this lengthy process the operator might more than once have exposed himself to the chance of being shot at by a suspicious tribesman while he watched his paper drying. In two or three cases Major Deane's agents have in fact been fired at even while using the quicker process.

It is therefore scarcely surprising to find that Major DEANE'S agents have in most cases contented themselves with a simpler if less effective process. After roughly inking the raised surface of the stone a piece of cloth or paper was pressed against it. On this the inscribed parts ought to appear in white. In some instances (see, *e.g.*, Nos. 27, 33) very fair impressions were thus obtained. In others, however, the evident hurry with which the stone was inked or the cloth (paper) removed, has led to the impression becoming blurred and accordingly very difficult to reproduce (see, *e.g.*, Nos. 30, 32). In those few cases where the operator tried to obtain a sunk paper-impression by the use of a brush (see Nos. 29, 35) his achievement has scarcely been more satisfactory.

A short visit which I had the good fortune to pay to the Lower Swat Valley last Christmas under Major DEANE'S auspices, enabled me to examine personally the rock-carved inscriptions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 of Plate VII. These were the only ones among the inscriptions here published from impressions which were then accessible for inspection. I found the two rocks exhibiting them exactly in the posi-

tion indicated by the remarks quoted above, p. 6. They lie side by side at the foot of a hill-spur which runs down to the right bank of the Swat river, about three miles above Fort *Chakdarra* and quite close to the little hamlet of *Khushmaqām*. Between them and the precipitous river bank passes the road to *Shamozai* territory and Upper Swat, undoubtedly an important route of communication since ancient times. The face of both rocks is naturally smooth and thus seems to offer itself as a convenient place of record.

The large marks which appear on them bear distinctly the character of Sgraffitti. They are cut only to a very slight depth in the hard rock, and form small detached groups spreading irregularly over the surface. Some of these little groups are now almost completely effaced. The careless execution of the marks makes it impossible to obtain an impression of them by any ordinary mechanical process. The attempt I made to photograph them, also failed, partly owing to the faint appearance of the outlines and partly on account of the glare reflected from the rock. For the purpose of the present publication I was, therefore, obliged to fall back upon the impressions which Major DEANE had originally communicated to me.

For these we are indebted to Surgeon-Captain Dr. D. W. SUTHERLAND, who while stationed at Chakdarra in charge of the Swat Civil Hospital 1895-97, had devoted a great deal of attention to the antiquities of the neighbourhood. Dr. SUTHERLAND, finding it impracticable to secure an impression in any other fashion, had carefully inked by hand the whole surface around what appeared to him engraved marks, and had taken his cloth impressions from the thus prepared surface. As he had carried out this process with great care and skill, the impressions of the several groups of Sgraffitti prepared by him can be accepted as very accurate eye-copies of what can still be distinguished with any certainty. On Plate VII. I have shown the groups Nos. 55-57 approximately in the relative positions which they occupy on the rock to the right. The Sgraffitti visible on the left rock are reproduced in the same way in Nos. 58-60.

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During the time which has passed since the above paper was written, Major DEANE has continued with equal zeal and success the collection of epigraphical remains from the interesting regions which lie within the sphere of his influence. The number of inscriptions in unknown characters since secured by him, including those obtained during the recent expedition to Upper Swat, has gradually risen to above fifty. Among them is one coming from Boner which owing to the large num-

ber of characters it contains is likely to prove important for the eventual decipherment of these puzzling documents. Major DEANE'S efforts have, however, not yet succeeded in bringing to light a single 'bilinguis,' and in the absence of such a guide the first step in that direction remains as difficult as before. The preparation of Plates showing Major DEANE'S recent acquisitions has already been taken in hand by Mr. GRIGGS, and with the help of the Asiatic Society I hope to publish soon the whole of these new finds in a Second Series.

In conclusion I may be allowed to state that I have discussed the questions concerning the Turkish dominion in Gandhāra and Udyāna more fully in a paper recently read before the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest¹⁰. This I hope to make soon more accessible by an English translation.

Lahore: 5th November, 1897.

¹⁰ "*A fehér Hunok és rokon törzsek indiai szerepléséről* (White Huns and kindred tribes in Indian history)"; see *Budapesti Szemle*, August, 1897.

the god Mahādēva whenever he wished, came to Bengal, the elderly Buddhist Bhikṣus wished to call the demigods who guarded Buddhism in other lands to their aid, but the youthful Buddhist Pandits, not listening to their advice, held religious controversy with Ćamkara and were defeated.³ They lost twenty-five endowed religious institutions together with their furniture and other properties; and 500 Buddhist Upāsakas were converted to the creed of the Tīrthikas (Brāhmaṇas). When Ćamkar-ācārya sent his letter of challenge to Nālanda to hold a religious disputation with him, Dharma Kīrtti⁴ was brought from the Dekhan by king Prabhāsa. In the great controversy which was held at Benares between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists in which the king presided, Pandit Dharma Kīrtti gained the victory. All the people interested in the controversy became converted to Buddhism. The king, having been converted, established a large number of Buddhist institutions. Though defeated, Ćamkara did not embrace Buddhism. After his death which occurred by drowning himself in the Ganges, his followers were mostly converted to Buddhism.

In Ōṭivisa (Orissa) Ćamkara's disciple, a Brāhman named Bhaṭṭācārya, became powerful. He defeated the Buddhist Pandit Kuḷiṇa Ćrēṣṭha and others in disputation, with the result that the Buddhist temples were destroyed by the Tīrthikas, and their endowed properties appropriated to the use of the latter. In the east Vimala Candra,⁵ son of Bāla Candra, had established his power over

³ དེའི་ཆེ་ཀྱ་ལམ་ཟུར་ལྟུང་གི་སྐ་ས་ཀྱི་ལྟུང་ཅ་ཅས་ཚུངས་པ་ཐུང་པའ་ འཕྲིན་བཟངས་ཆེ་
འདི་ཀིད་ལྟོ་ཐོགས་ ཀས་ཐུན་ཟངས་དེ་ཐོག་པོ་ རབ་གསལ་ལྟོས་ལྟ་ཀྱི་ཀ་སེར་ཐོ་ ཀང་དང་
ཐམ་ཐེ་མཁས་པ་ ཐུན་འཇུག་པའེ་དཔུས་ཐུ་བཙོད་ཆེ་ ཐུན་ཐམ་ཐེ་ཀང་པར་ བཟུག་པས།

(Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 106.)

⁴ ཆོས་ཐགས་དང་བོད་ཐོ་སྐམ་པོ་ཟུར་མཉམ་ཐེར་ཏོ། (Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 107.)

Dharma Kīrtti and Gam-po king of Tibet were said to be of the same time.

Gam-po married the daughter of Emperor Thai Jung of China, who according to Chinese chronology reigned in 600 A.D.

(Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 107.)

⁵ ཐུང་ག་ལ་དང་ཐུ་མ་ཅུ་པ་དང་དེ་ཏོ་ཅུ་དེ་གཐུམ་ལ་ཐུ་ལ་ ཅན་ཟུང་ཐུ་པི་མ་ལ་
ཅན་ཟུང་མངའ་བཟུར་དེ་

(Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 105.)

Bāla Candra was the son of Siṃha Candra who reigned in Bengal. Bāla Candra extended his power to Tirhut and Kāmarūpa. At this time Magadha was ruled by the elder son of King Harṣa.

the three great provinces, *viz* :—Tirabhukti, Baṅgāla and Kāmarūpa. He patronized the *Mādhyamika* philosophers, Ācārya Gupta, the pupil of Supradatta and also the Ācāryas Ratna Kīrtti and Amara Siddha. King Vimala Candra had married a sister of king Bhartṛhari, the last of the line of the Candras who ruled in Mālava, and had two sons, *viz* :—Lalita Candra and Gōpī Candra. After king Bhartṛhari had renounced the world in order to live the life of an ascetic, Lalita Candra succeeded him. King Vimala Candra was succeeded by Gōpī Candra, during whose reign the seat of Government was at Cāṭigrāma (modern Chittagong) in Eastern Bengal. In Cāṭigrāma there were in that early time many *Tīrthika* temples and Buddhist Vihāras. The Buddhist of Cāṭigrāma belonged to the Tāntrik Mahāyāna school. To the south of Cāṭigrāma was the kingdom of Rakhan or Arakhan. In Cāṭigrāma there was Jālandhara, in which flames of fire appeared mixed up with water.

The Buddhist Siddha Bālapāda was born at Nagara Thata in Sindu, in the family of a rich Ācārya merchant. He became a Buddhist and studied a large number of Buddhist works under eminent Buddhist sages. Then entering the holy order of Bhikṣus, he visited Udyāna (modern Swat and Chitral) and there practised *yōga*. From there he proceeded to Jālandhara (a place somewhere between Kaṣmīr and Nēpāl), where appeared flames of fire in the midst of water and stone. For his long residence there he was called the Saint of Jālandhara. He visited Nēpāl and there causing the chief *Liṅga* of Śiva to be split by the efficacy of his charms, converted the Nepalese to Tāntrik Buddhism. From Nēpāl he proceeded to the city of Avanti in Mālava. At this time Bhartṛhari, a member of the old royal family of Mālava, had succeeded to the throne on the death of Viṣṇu Rāja. Bālapāda converted a large number of people at Avanti to Buddhism by performing miracles. Once several thousand goats were being sacrificed by the Brāhmins before some deity. Suddenly by his charms he changed them into so many wolves. This frightened the people who, imbibing faith in Buddha, desisted from animal sacrifice. He initiated a man of the weaver-caste, aged 99 years, in the mystic cult of Tāntrik Buddhism and admitted a young Brāhmin to the holy order, who afterwards became an adept in mysticism and was called Kṛṣṇ-ācārya (the performer of black magic). Lastly, once while he was seated in deep meditation at the foot of a tree in a grove outside the city of Avanti, some robbers came and sat round him. At night they committed robbery in the city and obtained good many precious things. Thinking that good luck had attended them on account of their having seen the sage, they made him large presents of pearl rosaries and other precious things which weighed several hundred ounces. When they had gone away, the people saw in

[illegible]

J. I. 4

times Rāja Babla Sundara sent a number of Pandits to the Siddha Çānti Gupta, when he was residing in the country of Khagēndra in Dekhan. They returned with a large number of *Mantra* works to Cāṭigāñ. His four sons, Candra Vāhana, Atita Vāhana, Bāla Vāhana, and Sundara hachi, patronized Buddhism. The first reigned in Rakhan (Arakan), the second ruled in the land of the Cakmas (Chittagong Hill Tracts), the third became the king of Muñad (Burmah), and the fourth ruled over Namgaṭa (the Hill Tracts of Assam, Kachar and Tripura). Babla Sundara, it seems, was the king of Tripura and Cāṭigrāma (Chittagong).¹³

With respect to the 'Pandit's cap' (*Panzva-rtse riñ*), mentioned above (page 25), the following information is available.

Dr. Waddell in his work on "The Buddhism of Tibet" has given a very interesting description of the Lamaist hats and cawls. "The majority of the hats, he writes, are of an Indian type, a few only being Chinese or Mongolian. The two most typical hats are believed by the Lamas to have been brought from India by the Buddhist Saint Padma Sambhāna, the founder of Lamaism, and his coadjutor, Çānti Rakṣita, in the eighth century. And both of these hats are essentially of an Indian pattern. The red hat, of the great Pandits *Panchen zva dmar* is alleged

¹² འདི་འདས་ཀས་ས་འབྲུག་འདིའི་བར་ལོ་ལུ་མ་བཅུ་སྟོང་རྩེ། ཕྱིས་ལུ་ཨོ་དི་བི་
ཤར་ཆོས་ཐུག་མུ་ལུ་ཀ་ད་དེ་ལྷ་ཞེས་པ་མ་ག་དྲུའི་བར་དབང་བ་ཞིག་ལུང་ཀས་བཟུག་པ་
རྒྱུ་མཆོད་དེ་འདི་འདས་ཀས་ད་བར་ལོ་བཅུ་དང་དེ་ཀ་བཅུ་སྟོང་དོ།

(*Pagsam Jon-Zañ*, 133.)

¹³ ཤར་རྩ་ལྷར་ཀས་ཐུག་པུ་ཞིང་མ་ག་དྲུ་བཅོམ་ཀས་མཁས་པ་མང་པོ་སོ་སོར་
ཕྱོད་རྩས་ཀས་དེར་རིམ་པར་ཐུག་པོ་ཤོ་བ་ཆ་དང་སྟོང་ཆ་ཆོ་དི་སྟོན་ཕྱིས་ཆོས་གཞུ་
མང་པོ་བརྗོད་པ་དེ་ཕྱིས་ལུ་འདྲ་ཐུག་དར་ཤིང་བོད་རྩ་འོང་བའི་པཎ་ལི་ད་བ་ཀ་ར་དྲུ་
སྟོན་པ་འདྲ་དེ་ཀས་ཕྱོད་ལ། རྩས་ཕྱིས་ཐུག་པོ་བལ་ལ་ལུ་ཀ་དྲུ་རྩས་ལྷོ་ཁ་གཞུ་འདི་ལུ་
ཆཀ་ཞི་བ་ལྷས་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྩ་འབྲེ་ཤིང་རྩ་པཎ་ལི་ད་མང་པོ་བཟོངས་ཀས་ལྷགས་མང་རྩ་ལྷན་
འདས་ཤིང་། ར་ཁང་རྩ་འདི་ལུ་ཅི་ཀ་འཕྲ་ཀ་དང་། ཅིག་མར་ཨོ་དི་ད་ལྷ་ཀ་དང་།
ལྷ་ཀླད་རྩ་ལུ་ལ་ཀ་དང་། ཀམ་ག་ལར་ལུ་རྩ་རྩ་ཅི་ཞེས་པས་བཟུག་པ་མཆོད་ལ།

(*Pagsam Jon-Zañ*, 124.)

to have been brought from India the foundation of Lamaism. Its shape is essentially that of the ordinary cap used in the colder parts of India during the winter, with lappets coming over the cap and the nape of the neck, which lappets are folded up as an outer brim to the cap in the hot part of the day. Such a cap is often worn by Indian ascetics when travelling in the winter time. It is quite probable that this kind of cap was introduced either by Padma Sambhana, Çānti Rakṣita or Atiṣa (Dīpaṃkara) into Tibet from Magadha. From the account of the origin of the *Pan-zva rtse riñ* (called in Waddell's list *Panchen sneriñ*) quoted from *Pagsam Jon-zañ*, it appears that the Buddhist *Yōgīs* and Pandits used caps either during their residence in the monastery or at the time of travel. It is very probable that the cap originated in Udyāna, the country from which both Padma Sambhana and Bālapāda came. The latter or earlier Buddhist Pandits who visited Cāṭigrāma must have introduced the use of caps among the Buddhist Pandits who were called *Mahantas*. Pilgrims from Kaṣmīr and the Panjab still visit Sitākuṇḍa which has been a holy place both to the Brāhmins and Buddhists from very early time. In describing *Panchen sneriñ* Dr. Waddell observes:—It is only worn with these longtails by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, the Gahdan Khri-rinpo-chē, and the Tibetan Lama King or regent, during the assembly mass and empowering. *Pan-zva rtse riñ*,¹⁴ that is the Pandits cap with long or pointed top is generally made with the top point bent a little like a thorn of a rose, symbolical of penetration and piercing.

The name Paṇḍita Vihāra and the story of disputation with the *Tīrthīkas* (Brāhmaṇas) goes to show that Chittagong was place of learning sixteen centuries ago if not earlier still.

¹⁴ *Pan-zva rtse riñ* means the long pointed cap of the Pandits. *Pan* or *Panchen*, means great Pandits, *zva* cap, *rtse* 'point' (Skt. *agra*), and *riñ* 'long.'

On the Kāçmīrī Noun.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read December, 1897.]

A. Gender.

Kāçmīrī nouns are either masculine or feminine. There is no neuter gender in the language. In the case of pronouns, however, there is a relic of a neuter gender, each pronoun having three forms, one, for male living beings, another, for female living beings, and a third for things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine.

The sixth part of Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīraçabdāmṛta* deals with gender. The following rules are abstracted from it.

The feminine gender is used for the following purposes (vi. 18.) :—

(a.) To denote the female sex, *e.g.*

Masc.

Fem.

मंगुर् *mōṅgur^u*, a male kid

मंगर् *mōṅg^ar^ū* a female kid.

वकुर् *waṭsh^u*, a male calf

वगर् *waṭsh^ar*, a female calf.

(b.) To denote smallness, *e.g.*

कतुर् *katur^u*, a large potsherd

कतर् *kat^ar^ū*, a small potsherd.

(d.) To denote artificiality, *e.g.*

चास् *tsās*, a cough

चाखर् *tsākha^r*, an artificial cough,
a “hem.”

(e.) To denote similarity, *e.g.*

कथुर् *koth^u*, a load

कथर् *kwatsh^ū*, a bag.

ततुर् *tatur^u*, smarting (of a wound)

ततर् *tat^ar^ū*, the pain felt by an
angry person.

(f.) To denote special meanings, *e.g.*

नर् *na^r*, a sleeve

नर् *na^r*, an arm.

खर् *kh^ar*, having a scald-head

खर् *kh^ar*, the disease of scald-head.

1. Words signifying human castes or professions, form their feminines by adding बाय् *bāy* (vi. 2) [to the oblique form used in the case of compound words. *Vide post*, under that head]. [The word then means 'wife of so and so'].

Thus :—

बट् <i>baṭṭ</i> , a Brāhman	बट्बाय् <i>baṭabāy</i> , a wife of a Brāhman.
दर् <i>dar</i> , name of a Brāhman caste	दर्बाय् <i>darabāy</i> , wife of a <i>Dar</i> .
कौल् <i>kaul</i> , name of a Brāhman caste	कौल्बाय् <i>kaulabāy</i> , wife of a <i>Kaul</i> .
खन्र् <i>sōn^{ar}</i> , a goldsmith	खन्र्बाय् <i>sōn^{ar}bāy</i> , the wife of a goldsmith.
खार् <i>khār</i> , a blacksmith	खार्बाय् <i>khārabāy</i> , a blacksmith's wife.

We can only use this for human beings. Thus, कोतर्बाय् *kōtarbāy* means the wife of a man of the *kōtar* caste, and not the wife of a pigeon (कोतुर् *kōtur*), the feminine of which is कोतर् *kōt^{ar}*.

Cf. No. 9.

2. When respect is not intended क्लय् *kōlay* is substituted for बाय् *bāy* in the meaning of wife (vi. 3). Thus :—

बटक्लय् *baṭakōlay*;

So from

चान् *chān*, a carpenter चानक्लय् *chānakōlay*, the wife of a carpenter.

Cf. No. 9.

(3) All words ending in *u-mātrā*, change it to *ū-mātrā* in the feminine (vi. 4), thus :—

पट् *paṭ^u*, a board

पट् *paṭ^ū*, a tablet.

म्वट् *moṭ^u*, fat

म्वट् *mwṭ^ū*.

गर् *gar^u*, hard

गर् *gar^ū*.

गुर् *gur^u*, a horse

गुर् *gur^ū* a mare.

द्वब् *dob^u*, a washerman

द्वब् *dwab^ū*, a woman who does wash-
ing. [Thus जान् द्वब् *Jān^a dwab^ū*,

Jāna the washerwoman. A washerman's wife would be द्वब्बाय् *dwabⁱbāy*.]

खर् *khār^u*, having a scald head

गूर् *gūr^u*, a cowherd

खर् *khār^ū*, the disease of scald-head.

गूर् *gūr^ū*, as in जून गूर् *Zūn^a gūr^ū*,

Zūna the cowherdess. A cowherd's wife is गूर्बिबाय् *gūrⁱbāy*.

Note also words like—

कतूर् *katur^u*, a large potsherd

म्वंगूर् *mōṅgur^u*, a male kid

ततूर् *tatur^u*, smarting of a wound

वोवूर् *wōwur^u*, a weaver

कतूर् *kat^ar^ū*, a small ditto.

म्वंगूर् *mōṅg^ar^ū* a female kid.

ततूर् *tat^ar^ū* the pain of anger.

वोवूर् *wōw^ar^ū*, a woman weaver.

[A weaver's wife is वोवूर्बिबाय् *wōw^aribāy*.]

गगूर् *gagur^u*, a rat

गगूर् *gag^ar^ū*.

As in the five last examples, all words of three or more syllables omit a penultimate उ *u*, when forming the feminine (vi. 8). Cf. No. 4a.

The word कूट् *tshot^u*, small, makes its feminine कूट् *tshwat^ū*, or कूटिञ् *tshwaṭiñ* (Cf. No. 8.) The latter is only used with reference to human beings. The former is universally used (vi. 5), thus:—कूट् (or कूटिञ्) कूर् *tshw^at^ū* (or *tshwaṭiñ*) *kūr^ū*, a small girl.

So also we have खर् *khār*, an ass, feminine खर् *khār^ū* or खरिञ् *khariñ* (see No. 8).

(4). Words ending in ल् *l^u*, are subject to the following rules (vi. 7, 8, 29).

(a) Words of three syllables and over, ending in *ul^u* change *ul^u* to *aj^ū*, thus:—

Feminine.

गाटुल् *gātul^u*, clever

फुटुल् *phuṭul^u*, a bundle of things tied up in a shawl, &c.

चकुल् *tsakul^u*, circular

पतुल् *patul^u*, a raft

ग्वगुल् *gōgul^u*, a big turnip

चतुल् *tsōtul^u*, a sodomite

गाट्ज् *gāt^aj^ū*.

फुट्ज् *phuṭ^aj^ū* a small bundle.

चक्ज् *tsak^aj^ū*.

पत्ज् *pat^aj^ū*, a mat.

ग्वग्ज् *gōg^aj^ū*, an ordinary turnip.

चत्ज् *tsōt^aj^ū*.

वातुलु <i>wātul^u</i> , a low-caste man	वातजु <i>wāt^aj^ū</i> .
टठुलु <i>ṭaṭhul^u</i> , a wooden vessel	टठजु <i>ṭaṭh^aj^ū</i> , a small ditto.

(b) Words ending in the suffix वोलु *wōl^u*, form the feminine in वाज्यञ् *wājyēñ*, thus:—

गर्वोलु <i>gar^awōl^u</i> , a house-holder	गर्वाज्यञ् <i>gar^awājyēñ</i> .
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The word वोलु *wōl^u*, 'a ring' is not formed with this suffix.

(c) Other words in *l^u* form their feminines in ज् *j^ū*, thus:—

गूलु <i>gūl^u</i> , a kernel	गूज् <i>gūj^ū</i> , a small ditto.
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Words in ओलु *ōl^u* change ओ *ō* to आ *ā*, thus:—

वोलु <i>wōl^u</i> , a small ring	वाज् <i>wāj^ū</i> , a small ditto.
मोलु <i>mōl^u</i> , a father	माज् <i>māj^ū</i> , a mother.
झोलु <i>tsrōl^u</i> , watchman	झाज् <i>tsrāj^ū</i> .

Irregular is—

डुलु <i>ḍul^u</i> , a large bowl	डुलिजि <i>ḍulijⁱ</i> , a small ditto.
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(5) Words ending in कु *k^u*, खु *kh^u*, गु *g^u* (and also in क् *k*, ख् *kh*, ग् *g*; but no examples are given) change क् *k* to च् *c*, ख् *kh* to छ् *ch*, and ग् *g* to ज् *j* (vi. 9), thus:—

Feminine.

बतुकु <i>batuk^u</i> , a drake	बतच् <i>bat^ac^ū</i> , a duck.
होखु <i>hokh^u</i> , dry	होक् <i>hwach^ū</i> .
झुंगु <i>dyūṅg^u</i> , a ball of string	झौज् <i>ḍij^ū</i> , a small ditto.

The vowel changes are those prescribed in the declension of nouns. Īçvara-kaula occasionally spells बतच् *bat^ac^ū* बतच् *bat^ac*.

Exceptions are (vi. 10.)

खुंखु <i>khūñkh^u</i> , one who speaks through his nose.	खुंखु <i>khūñkh^ū</i> .
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चकु <i>tsok^u</i> , sour	चक् <i>tswak^ū</i> .
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(6) Words in त *t*, थ *th*, द *d*, or न *n*, with or without *u-mātrā*, change त् *t* to च् *ts*, थ् *th* to ष् *tsh*, द् *d* to ज् *z*, and न् *n* to ण् *ñ*. As usual, *ū-mātrā* is omitted, in writing, after ण् *ñ*, (vi. 11.)

मत् <i>mat^u</i> , mad	मच <i>mat^us</i> .
कोथ् <i>koth^u</i> , a load	कोष् <i>kwatsh^u</i> , a bag.
व्वरुद् <i>wörud^u</i> , a second husband of one woman.	व्वरज् <i>wörəz^u</i> , a woman who has married twice.
वन् <i>wan</i> , a forest	वञ् <i>wañ</i> , a grove.
गान् <i>gān</i> , a brothel-keeper	गाञ् <i>gāñ</i> , a prostitute.
छान् <i>chān</i> , a carpenter	छाञ् <i>chāñ</i> , as in जून छाञ् <i>Zūn^u</i> <i>chāñ</i> , Zūna the carpentress.
हून् <i>hūn^u</i> , a dog	हूञ् <i>hūñ</i> , a bitch.

(7) Certain words form their feminines by adding र *r* with various other changes, thus:—

Feminine.

कङ् <i>kang</i> , a brazier	काङ्ग् <i>kāḡar</i> , a small ditto (vi. 12.)
चास् <i>tsās</i> , a cough	चाखर् <i>tsākh^{ar}</i> , an artificial cough, (vi. 13.)
त्रख् <i>trākh</i> , a certain grain weight	त्रक्क् <i>trak^{ar}</i> , a scale, (vi. 14.)
म्वड् <i>monḍ^u</i> , a log	म्वड्ग् <i>mōṇḍ^{ar}</i> , a small log (vi. 15.)
फत् <i>phot^u</i> , a basket	फत्क् <i>phōt^{ar}</i> , a small basket (vi. 16.)
लट् <i>laṭ^u</i> , a tail	लट्क् <i>laṭ^{ar}</i> , a small tail, कूटि लट्क् <i>kūṭi laṭ^{ar}</i> , a piece of wood cut off the end of a beam.
वट् <i>waṭsh^u</i> , a male calf	वट्क् <i>waṭsh^{ar}</i> , a female calf.

(8) Certain words form their feminines in इञ् *iñ* (vi. 16–27), thus:—

Feminine.

हस् <i>haṣṭ^u</i> , an elephant	हसिञ् <i>haṣṭiñ</i> .
काव् <i>kāv</i> , a crow	काविञ् <i>kāviñ</i> .
नाग् <i>nāg</i> , a snake.	नागिञ् <i>nāgiñ</i> .

बूठ् *wūṭh*, a camel

बूठिञ् *wūṭhiñ*.

खर् *khar*, an ass

खरिञ् *khariñ*, (see No. 3) or खर् *khar*.

And so other words signifying animals.

व्यूठ् *vyūṭh*, stout

व्यूठिञ् *vyūṭhiñ*, stout, but वरूठिञ् *vēṭhiñ* (in a bad sense) stout, fat.

गूठ् *gūṭh*, stupid

गूठिञ् *gūṭhiñ*.

ब्वट् *bōṭ*, a Tibetan

ब्वटिञ् *bōṭiñ*, (बुटिञ् *buṭiñ*), or ब्वटबाय् *bōṭabāy*, a Tibetan woman.

बुगिय् *bugiy*, a master

बुगिञ् *bugiñ*, a mistress.

ज़ल् *zal*, water

ज़लिञ् *zaliñ*, sweat of the feet.

गर *gar*, a house

गरिञ् *gariñ*, a good mistress of a house ; distinct from गर्वाञ्ज् *gar^awājñ*, a female householder (see No. 9.)

दबु *dob*, a washerman

दबिञ् *dwabiñ*, a washerman's club, but दबिबाय् *dwab'bāy*, a washerman's wife.

(9) Certain nouns take अञ् *añ* in the feminine (vi. 28.)

(a) Names of castes.

Note that बाय् *bāy* (No. 1) is used as a feminine of respect ; कल्य *kōṭay* (No. 2) is only used of a married woman, when spoken of in connexion with her husband, and without respect ; while अञ् *añ* is a general feminine, without signifying respect, thus :—

बट् *baṭ*, a Brāhmaṇ,

बटञ् *baṭañ*, a woman of that caste.

मुसल्लान् *musalmān*, a Musalmān

मुसल्लानञ् *musalmānañ*, a Muham-
madan woman.

हाकग्राख् *hākagrākh*, a vegetable
seller.

हाकग्राकञ् *hākagrākañ*.

बोजु *wōñ*, a shopkeeper

बाञ्ज् *wāñyañ*, a female shop-
keeper.

So also all nouns with the suffix **बोलु** *wōl^u*, (vi. 29) as given in No. 4 (b). Thus :—

गर्वोलु *gar^awōl^u*, a householder **गर्वाञ्ज** *gar^awājēñ*.

See also No. 8.

(10) If the masculine word ends in **र्** then the suffix is **यञ्** *ēñ* (vi. 30), thus (see Secondary Suffixes No. 39.)

Feminine.

सालर् *sāl^ar*, a member of bridegroom's party. **साल्यञ्** *sāl^arēñ*.

पहरर् *pōhar*, an invited guest **पहर्यञ्** *pōharēñ*.

रंगर् *rang^ar*, a dyer **रंग्यञ्** *rang^arēñ*.

खनर् *sōn^ar*, a goldsmith **खन्यञ्** *sōn^arēñ*.

दांदुर् *dā^ad^ar*, a vegetable seller **दांद्यञ्** *dā^ad^arēñ*.

कांदुर् *kā^ad^ar*, a baker **कांद्यञ्** *kā^ad^arēñ*.

So also we have—

खञ् *soñ^u*, a co-father-in-law **खञ्यञ्** *soñēñ*.

महाराज् *mahārāz^a*, a great king **महार्यञ्** *mahārēñ*, the wife of a great king, a bride.

राज् *rāz^a*, a king **राज्यञ्** *rājyarēñ*, a queen.

(11) Finally we have **आञ्** *āñ* in the following (vi. 31):—

पंडिथ् *paṇḍith*, a paṇḍit **पंडिताञ्** *paṇḍitāñ*.

गुजुर् *gujur^u*, a forester **गुजराञ्** *gujarāñ*.

(12) Irregular is (vi. 18):—

मख् *māk^h*, an axe **मक्छ्** *mak^ats*, a small axe.

B. Number.

Kāçmīrī, has two numbers, a Singular and a Plural. There is no Dual number. The method of forming the plural will appear from the Declensional Paradigms.

C. Case.

Kāçmīrī nouns have, besides the Nominative, two inflected cases the Accusative, and the Agent. Other so-called cases are formed by the addition of postpositions to one of these two. The following are the cases given by Īçvara-kaula.

Formed from the Accusative :—

Genitive,
Locative 1,
Dative 1,
Concomitant.

Formed from the Agent :—

Instrumental,
Locative 2,
Dative 2,
Ablative.

There is no Vocative, but, in case of address, a noun assumes a variety of forms which will be dealt with later on.

There are thus, excluding the Nominative, ten cases.

I now proceed to deal with each case separately.

Accusative.

The Accusative has two forms, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is always the same as the nominative (ii. i. 39.)

In the masculine singular, the longer form always ends in *s*. In the feminine it ends in *a*, *ě*, *i*, or *ū-mātrā* (36–40). When the longer form of the accusative singular ends in *i*, that *i* is always fully pronounced.

Thus मालि *māli*, not मालि *mālī*. In the plural it always ends in *n* (12, 38).

Genitive.

The Genitive is formed by various affixes, added to the long form of the accusative.

In the case of masculine nouns, the *s* of the accusative singular is dropped before the termination, and the final vowel so left is pronounced short, as a *mātrā* vowel. Thus from दय् *day*, God : acc. sg. दयस् *dayas* ; gen. sing. दय सन्दु *day^a sand^u* : acc. pl. दयन् *dayan* ; gen. plur. दयन् हन्दु *dayan hand^u*.

So from गुर् *gur^u*, a horse : acc. sg. गुरिस् *guris* ; gen. sg., गुरि सन्दु *gurⁱ sand^u* : acc. pl. गुर्यन् *guryan* ; gen. pl. गुर्यन् हन्दु *guryan hand^u*.

The word with its genitive affix is treated as an adjective agreeing with the object possessed in gender and number.

Thus मालि सन्दु न्यचिवु *mālī sand^u necyuv*, the son of the father.

मालि सन्दि न्यचिवि *mālī sandⁱ necivⁱ*, the sons of the father.

मालि सन्ज कूरु *mālī sanz^u kūr^u*, the daughter of the father.

मालि सन्ज कोर्य *mālī sanz^a kōrē*, the daughters of the father.

Moreover this genitive may even be treated as an independent base, and be regularly declined, with case affixes added to it.

Thus from मोलु *mōl^u*, a father, the genitive masculine is मालि सन्दु *mālī sand^u*, which may be declined like a masculine noun in *u-mātrā*, with a dative मालि सन्दि पुष् *mālī sandi putshy*, which can be used instead of the simple dative मालि पुष् *mālī putshy*. Indeed the dative formed from the genitive is in the case of this word the usual one, and the simple dative is scarcely used (ii. i. 61, 62, 63, 64).

The following are the affixes used to form the genitive :—

A. Masculine nouns with life which are not proper names take

(a) in the singular, सन्दु *sand^u*, *E.g.*, दय सन्दु *day^a sand^u*, of God (46).

(b) in the plural, हन्दु *hand^u*, *E.g.*, दयन् हन्दु *dayan hand^u*, of Gods (42).

B. All feminine nouns without exception take हन्दु *hand^u*, both in the singular, and in the plural. *E.g.*, ब्यञ्ज हन्दु *bēñě hand^u*, of the sister; ब्यञ्जन् हन्दु *bēñan hand^u*, of the sisters; पोथ्य हन्दु *pōthě hand^u*, of the book; पोथ्यन् हन्दु *pōthyan hand^u*, of the books (42).

C. Masculine nouns without life take.

(a) In the singular उकु *uk^u*, (48) before which *a* is elided (i. 4), and *i* becomes *y* (i. 10). While when it follows *ū-mātrā*, the *u* of *uk^u* is elided (i. 5). *E.g.*, द्यकुकु *dyakuk^u*, of a forehead; कुल्युकु *kulyuk^u*, of a tree; दानुकु *dān^uuk^u*, of a pomegranate.

(b) In the plural, the termination is हन्दु *hand^u*, as above; *e.g.*, द्यकन् हन्दु *dyakan hand^u*, of foreheads.

EXCEPTION.—The words खन् *sōn*, gold, and र्वप् *rōp*, silver, take the termination सन्दु *sand^u* in the singular, when the genitive is used in the sense of ‘composed of.’ *E.g.*, खन् सन्दु चथर् *sōn^a sand^u chath^ar*, an umbrella of gold, a golden umbrella. खनुकु चथर् *sōnuk^u chath^ar*, would mean an umbrella belonging to gold,—a possessive genitive in fact (ii. i. 47).

NOTE.—When a genitive in उकु *uk^u* is treated as a declensional base, the उ *u* becomes अ *a* in the oblique cases (64). Thus पट् *paṭ^u*, a woollen cloth. Gen. sg. पद्युक् *paṭyuk^u*: Dative, पटि पुष् *paṭi putshy* or पद्यकि पुष् *paṭeki* (spelled *paṭyaki*) *putshy*.

D. Masculine nouns which are proper names form their genitive singular in उनु *un^u*, which is treated exactly like उकु *uk^u*, (50). *E.g.*, राधाकृष्णनु *Rādhākṛṣṇun^u* of Rādhākṛṣṇa : राधाकृष्णनि पुष् *Rādhākṛṣṇani putshy*, for Rādhākṛṣṇa.

The plural is formed regularly with हन्दु *haṇḍ^u*, *e.g.* रामन् हन्दु *Rāman haṇḍ^u*, of (many) Rāmas.

It will thus be seen that the suffix of the genitive of all plural nouns, and of all feminine nouns is हन्दु *haṇḍ^u*.

When the thing possessed is feminine singular, or masculine or feminine plural, the following changes in the genitive affixes occur:—

THING POSSESSED IN THE

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
सन्दु <i>saṇḍ^u</i>	संज् <i>saṇz^ū</i> (46, 44)	सन्दि <i>saṇḍi</i> (46, 43)	संज् <i>saṇz^a</i> (46, 45)
हन्दु <i>haṇḍ^u</i>	हंज् <i>haṇz^ū</i> (44)	हन्दि <i>haṇḍi</i> (43)	हंज् <i>haṇz^a</i> (45)
उकु <i>uk^u</i>	च् <i>c^ū</i> (49)	कि <i>ki</i> (48)	च् <i>c^{a1}</i> (49)
उनु <i>un^u</i>	ज् <i>ñ</i> (51)	नि <i>nⁱ</i> (50)	ज् <i>ñ^e</i> (51)

Examples in order as:—

मालि सन्दु न्यचिवु *mālī saṇḍ^u nēcīyuv*, the son of the father.

मालि संज् कूरु *mālī saṇz^ū kūrū*, the daughter of the father.

1 So written by Içvara-kanla. च् *cē* would be more correct, but, च् *c* being a palatal letter, there is practically no difference in the pronunciation.

मालि सन्दि न्यचिवि *mālī sandī nēcivī*, the sons of the father.

मालि सन्ज कोर्य *mālī sanz^a kōrē*, the daughters of the father.

माल्यन् हन्दु गुरु *mālyan hand^u gur^u*, the horse of the fathers.

माल्यन् हन्जु गुरु *mālyan hanz^u gur^u*, the mare of the fathers.

माल्यन् हन्दि गुरि *mālyan handī gurī*, the horses of the fathers.

माल्यन् हज्जु गुर्य *mālyan hanz^a gurē*, the mares of the fathers.

कुल्युकु लंग् *kulyuk^u lang*, a bough of a tree.

कुलिच लण्ड *kulic^u laṇḍ^u*, a twig of a tree.

कुलिकि लंग् *kulikī lang*, the boughs of the tree.

कुलिच लज्जा *kulic^a laṇjē*, the twigs of the tree.

रामुन् न्यचिव *Rāmun^u nēchyuv*, Rāma's son.

रामञ्ज कूरु *Rāmañ kūr^u*, Rāma's daughter.

रामनि न्यचिवि *Rāmañi nēcivi*, Rāma's sons.

रामञ्ज कोर्य *Rāmañē kōrē*, Rāma's daughters.

Locative, 1.

There are two forms of the Locative. The first I shall call Loc. 1. It has the meaning indicated by its postpositions.

This Locative is formed by adding the postpositions *अन्दर् andar* (ii. i. 52), in; *मञ्ज manz* (52), in; *पथ pyāth* (52), upon; *कथ kyāth* (53), in; to the longer form of the Accusative. In Poetry, *वेष vēṣ^a* is also used in the sense of 'upon' (52). Thus *मूल mūl*, a root; Acc. sg. *मूलस् mūlas*; Loc. sg. *मूलस् अन्दर् mūlas andar*; *मूलस् मञ्ज mūlas manz*, in a root; *मूलस् पथ mūlas pyāth*, on a root; Acc. pl. *मूलन् mūlan*; *मूलन् अन्दर् mūlan andar*, in roots.

The postposition *कथ kyāth* can only be used with words which mean a receptacle. Thus we can say *थालस् कथ thālas kyāth*, in a dish; or even *नावि कथ nāvi kyāth*, in a boat; but we cannot say *गरस् कथ garas kyāth*, in a house or *मूलस् कथ mūlas kyāth*, in a root, because a house, or a root, are not used as receptacles for putting things into.

कथ् *kyāth* can also be used with any word signifying a means of conveyance, and it must then sometimes be translated by 'on.' Thus गुरिस् कथ् *guris kyāth*, or गुरिस् षट् *guris pyāṭh*, on horseback.

Loc. 2 will be dealt with subsequently.

Dative, 1.

There are two forms of the Dative, one formed by adding postpositions to the Accusative, the other by adding postpositions to the Instrumental. The first I shall call Dat. 1, the second, Dat. 2. The Dat. 2, will be subsequently dealt with.

Dat. 1 is formed by adding the postposition कित् *kyut^u*, for, to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 54, 55). The compound thus formed, agrees in number and gender with the thing given, the word 'given' being taken in its widest sense to agree with the original meaning of the name of the case. The following are the forms which कित् *kyut^u* takes :—

Sing. Masc. कित् *kit^u* (*kyut^u*)

Fem. किच् *kits^u*

Pl. Masc. किति *kitⁱ*

Fem. किच् *kits^o*

Thus मालिस् कित् अनुन् पोज् *mālis kyut^u anun pōñ^u*, he brought water (masc. sg.) for the father.

मालिस् किच् अज्नुन् गाव् *mālis kits^u aññ^un gāv*, he brought a cow (fem. sg.) for the father.

गुरिस् किति अनिन् रव *guris kitⁱ anin rav^a*, he brought blankets (masc. pl.) for the horse.

ग्वरस् किच् अज्जान् पोथ्य *gōras kits^o aññyan pōthē*, he brought books (fem. pl.) for the teacher.

Concomitant.

This case is used in the sense of 'with,' or 'accompanying.' It is formed by adding the postpositions सतिन् *sātin* or सत्य् *sāty* to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 60). Thus मालिस् सतिन् आय्

mālis sūtin āv, he came with his father; बायिस् सृत्य मूलु *bāyis sūty myūlu*, he met with his brother; माल्यन् सृतिन् *mālyan sūtin*, with the fathers.

In this case it is always implied that the person who is accompanied is the principal and he who accompanies, is the appendage (iv. 185).

Thus 'he came with his father' means here that he came in a subordinate character (iv. 185).

If it is wished to reverse the superiority of the parties we must use the word सान् *sān*. Thus मालिस् सान् आव् *mālis sān āv*, he came with his father, means 'he brought his father along with him.' If सृतिन् *sūtin* had been used, it would have meant that the father brought the son along with him (iv. 185).

Agent.

The case of the Agent is formed in the Singular as follows:—

- (1) In the case of Masc. nouns ending in consonants by adding अन् *an*; thus दय् *day*, God; Ag. sg. दयन् *dayan*. In the older forms of the language the suffix was र *i*: e.g., दयि दप् *dayi dap*, by God it was said, God said. The modern phrase would be दयन् दप् *dayan dap* (ii. i. 58).
- (2) In the case of Masculine nouns (except pronouns) ending in *a*, the same suffixes appear. Thus from अक *dyak*, a forehead; Ag. sg. अकन् *dyakan*, or (old) अकि *ḍek* (58). Pronouns take *i-mātrā* in the masc. sg., e.g., तमि *tami*, by him, (58).
- (3) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in *u-mātrā*, *i-mātrā* is substituted for *u-mātrā*. Thus, कर् *kar*, a bracelet; Ag. sg. कर् *kar* (56).
- (4) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in *ū-mātrā*, by adding न् *n*; e.g., from दान् *dān*, a pomegranate; Ag. sg. दान् *dān*. [Īçvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent of these nouns, but the above is the correct form.]
- (5) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in *a*, by substituting *i* (which is fully pronounced, and not *i-mātrā*) for *a*: e.g.,

from ब्यञ्ज *běñě* (spelled *byañ^a*), a sister; Ag. sg. ब्यञ्जि *běñi* (56).

- (6) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in *i-mātrā* or *ū-mātrā*, a fully pronounced *i* is substituted for the *i-mātrā* or *ū-mātrā*: e.g., from पूथि *pūthⁱ*, a book; Ag. sg. पोथि *pōthi*. So from कूर *kūr^u*, a girl; Ag. sg. कोरि *kōri* (56).

- (7) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in consonants, by adding a fully pronounced *i*: e.g., from माल *māl* a garland, मालि *māli* (56). The irregular nouns, however, which end in *t*, *th*, *d*, *n*, *h*, and *l*, add *ū-mātrā*: e.g., from रात् *rāt*, night; Ag. sg. रात्स *rāts^u*. [This last rule is not expressly stated by Īçvara-kaula, but may be inferred from *sūtra* 7, read with *sūtra* 17.]

The Agent plural is formed by adding *au* (56). Before this, *a* is elided, and *i-mātrā* and *u-mātrā* become *y*. After *ū-mātrā* (except in the case of Feminine nouns in *ū-mātrā*, in which *y* is substituted) *au* becomes *v* (20). Examples are:—

From	Ag. Plural.
दय् <i>day</i> , God	दयो <i>dayau</i>
द्यक <i>dyak^a</i> , the forehead	द्यको <i>dyakau</i>
कर् <i>kar^u</i> , a bracelet	कयो <i>karyau</i>
दान् <i>dān^u</i> , a pomegranate	दानव् <i>dān^uv</i>
ब्यञ्ज <i>běñě</i> (<i>byañ^a</i>), a sister	ब्यञ्जो <i>běñau</i>
पूथि <i>pūthⁱ</i> , a book	पोथ्यो <i>pōthyau</i>
कूर <i>kūr^u</i> , a girl	कोर्यो <i>kōryau</i>
माल् <i>māl</i> , a garland	मालो <i>mālau</i>
रात् <i>rāt</i> , night	रात्सव् <i>rāts^uv</i>

When postpositions are added to the agent of masculine nouns ending in consonants or *a*, the *n* of the Agent singular is dropped. Thus, from मूल *mūl*, Ag. sg. मूलन् *mūlan*; Instr. मूल स्ततिन् *mūl^a sṭtin*, not मूलन् स्ततिन् *mūlan sṭtin* (4). [The same rule applies to masculines in *ū-mātrā*, though not stated by Īçvara-kaula.]

Instrumental.

The Instrumental is formed by adding स्तृतिन् *sṭin* or स्तृत्य *sṭy* to the Agent, the final *n* of Masculine nouns in consonants, *a*, or *ū-mātrā* being elided, (ii. i. 4, 59.). Thus—

मूल *mūl*, a root; Ag. sg. मूलन् *mūlan*; Instr. sg. मूल स्तृतिन् *mūla sṭin*, by means of a root; Ag. pl. मूलौ *mūlau*; Instr. pl. मूलौ स्तृतिन् *mūlau sṭin*.

When स्तृतिन् *sṭin* follows *i-mātrā*, the *i* is fully pronounced (6). Thus कर् *kar*, a bracelet; Ag. sg. कर् *kar*; Instr. sg. कर् स्तृतिन् *kari sṭin*.

This case can also be formed by adding the same postposition to the agent case of the masculine genitive treated as an independent base, as explained above (61). Thus द्यक *dyak*, a forehead; masc. gen. sg. द्यकु *dyakuk*; Agent of ditto, द्यक्कि *dyakaki*; Instr. द्यक स्तृतिन् *dyak sṭin* or द्यक्कि स्तृतिन् *dyakaki sṭin*.

So from गुर *gur*, a horse. Ag. sg. गुरि *guri*; Gen. Sg. गुरि सन्द *guri sand*; Instr. गुरि स्तृतिन् *guri sṭin*, or गुरि सन्दि स्तृतिन् *guri sandi sṭin*.

Locative 2.

The Locative 2 has the meaning of 'from in,' and is formed by adding the postposition अन्द्र *andr* to the Agent, (*n* being dropped in the case of masculines in consonants, and *a*, and *ū-mātrā*.) Thus, from गर *gar*, a house; Ag. sg. गरन् *garan*; Loc. 2, sg. गर अन्द्र *gar andr*, from in the house; ag. pl. गरौ *garau*; Loc. 2, pl. गरौ अन्द्र *garau andr*, (ii. i. 57).

Examples of the use of this case are गर अन्द्र अन् *gar andr an* bring out from the house, lit. bring from in the house.

गर अन्द्र कुह जान् लाँक *gar andar chuh jān lāṅk*, among the people in (lit. from in) the house, (only) so and so is good.

गरौ अन्द्र कुह जान् आंगुन् *garau andar chuh jān āṅun*, the only good thing in the houses is the court-yard.

This form can only be used in the meaning called in Skr. *nirdhāraṇē*, i.e., in words meaning जाति *jāti*, a species (including all plurals); गुण *guṇa*, a quality; क्रिया *kriyā*, an act; संज्ञा *saṃjñā*, an appellation; and means that one of several is taken.

जात्या गुणेन क्रियया संज्ञया वा प्रयच्छतिः ।

समूहादेकदेशस्य निर्धारणमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Examples:—

Species. A Brāhmaṇa is the best amongst men.

Quality. Amongst cows a black one gives most milk.

Action. Amongst men who go, he who runs is the swiftest.

Appellation. Amongst the pupils Maitra is the cleverest. See Siddhānta Kaumudī (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) I, 311. In all the above “amongst” means “from among.”

It is evident that the form can hardly ever be used except in the plural. In the paradigms, singular forms are given for the sake of completeness, but it is doubtful if they can be used in that number.

Dative 2.

According to Īçvara-kaula, this form is only used to a moderate extent (*sāmānya*) (ii. i. 63). It is in fact rarely used. It has the same meaning as the Dat. 1. It is formed by adding पुष् पुत्श्य *putshy* to the Agent, or (as has been explained under the head of the Instrumental) to the Agent case of the Genitive. Before पुष् *putshy*, as in the case of सृतिन् *sṛtin*, *i-mātrā* is fully pronounced. Thus,—पुत्र पुष् *putr^a putshy*, or पुत्र सन्दि पुष् *putr^a sandi putshy*.

Ablative.

The Ablative is formed from the Agent by adding the postpositions यठ *pyath^a*, literally from on, hence, from near; निश् *niç^a*, from near; अन्द् *andr^a*, from among, from in (ii. i. 65).

Thus, गाम यठ *gām^a pyath^a*, from the village; गामो यठ *gāmau pyath^a* from the villages; सर्पो निश् *sarpau niç^a*, from the serpents; गर अन्द् द्राव् *gar^a andr^a drāv*, he came out from the house; नावि अन्द् द्राव् *nāvi andr^a drāv*, he came out from the boat, (65).

[Masculine living beings can also add these postpositions, in the singular only, to the longer form of the Accusative. Thus चूरस् निश् *tsūras niç^a*, from the thief; गुरिस् निश् *guris niç^a*, from the horse.]

The ablative of comparison is formed with the postpositions खत *khōt^a* or खतन् *khōtan*, निश् *niç^a* or निश्चिन् *niçin*, which are added either to the agent direct, or to the Agent case of the Genitive treated as a base. In the case of some words, *e.g.*, ग्वर् *gōr*, a teacher, only the latter idiom is used.

E.g., ग्वर सन्दि खत चुह् गाटुल् *gōr^a sandi khōt^a chuh gātul^a*, he is more clever than the teacher. We cannot say ग्वर खत *gōr^a khōt^a*. कज् चन्दि (or कज्) खत चुह् चकुल् *kañ^a handi (or kuñ^a) khōt^a chuh trakur^a*, he is harder than a stone; वेप निश् चुह् खन् जान् *rōp^a niç^a chuh sōn jān*, gold is better than silver (ii. i. 62).

D. Declension.

Kāçmīrī nouns have four declensions.

The first declension consists of masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in अ *a*, or in ण् *ū-mātrā*. The base in this declension ends in *a*.

The second declension consists of masculine nouns ending in उ *u-mātrā*. The base in this declension ends in *i*.

The third declension consists of feminine nouns ending in इ *i-mātrā*, ण् *ū-mātrā*, or ञ् *ñ*. The last is only another way of writing ञ् *ñ^u*. It may be considered as the feminine form of the 2nd declension. The base in this declension also ends in *i*, and this declension is closely connected with the second, as feminine and masculine.

The fourth declension consists of feminine nouns ending in a consonant or in अ *a*. Certain feminine nouns of this declension ending in a consonant, are irregular, and form a class by themselves.

There are thus two masculine, and two feminine declensions.

FIRST DECLENSION.

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in च a, or in ञ ū-mātrā.

(a). Noun ending in a consonant.

चूर tsūr, a thief.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	चूर tsūr (ii. i. 3).	चूर tsūr (3).
Acc.	चूरस् tsūras (36, 38).	चूरन् tsūran (13, 38).
	चूर tsūr (39).	चूर tsūr (39).
Gen.	चूर सन्दु tsūra sandu (41, 42, 45).	चूरन् हन्दु tsūran handu (42).
Loc. 1.	चूरस् पय्ठ tsūras pyāth (52), &c.	चूरन् पय्ठ tsūran pyāth (52), &c.
Dat. 1.	चूरस् कितु tsūras kyut ^a (54, 55).	चूरन् कितु tsūran kyut ^a (54, 55).
Concom.	चूरस् स्रतिन् tsūras sūtin (60).	चूरन् स्रतिन् tsūran sūtin (60).
Agent.	चूरन् tsūran (58).	चूरौ tsūrau (56).
	चूरि tsūr ⁱ (58) (obsolete).	
Instr.	चूर स्रतिन् tsūra sūtin (6, 59).	चूरौ स्रतिन् tsūrau sūtin (59).
	चूर सन्दि स्रतिन् tsūra sandi sūtin (61).	चूरन् हन्दि स्रतिन् tsūran handi sūtin (61).
Loc. 2.	(चूर अन्द्र tsūra andr ^a) (4, 57).	चूरौ अन्द्र tsūrau andr ^a (57).
Dat. 2.	चूर पुष्प tsūra putshy (63).	चूरौ पुष्प tsūrau putshy (63).
	चूर सन्दि पुष्प tsūra sandi putshy (63).	चूरन् हन्दि पुष्प tsūran handi putshy (63).
Abl.	चूर निश tsūra niṣ ^a (65).	चूरौ निश tsūrau niṣ ^a (65).
	[or चूरस् निश tsūras niṣ ^a].	

Similarly are declined द्य् *day*, God ; काव् *kāv*, a crow ; खन् *sōn*, gold ; र्वप् *rōp*, silver ; पुव् *putr*, a son ; वथर् *wath^ar*, a leaf ; त्वमुल् *tōmul*, husked rice ; हार् *hār*, name of a month, Āṣāḍha ; म्वग् *mōgg*, name of a grain, *phaseolus mungi* ; माग् *māg*, name of a month, Māgha ; दह् *dōh*, a day ; नाग् *nāg*, a spring ; कट् *kaṭ* [nom. sg. and pl. कठ् *kāṭh* (66)], a ram ; रत् *rat* [nom. sg. and pl. रथ् *rāth*, (66)], blood ; पोष् *pōṣ*, a flower ; वाल् *wāl*, hair ; गल् *gal*, the cheek ; ग्वर् *gōr*, a preceptor, a Brāhman.

Numerals take *i* instead of *a* in the Agent and connected cases, e.g., सति स्यतिन् *sati sūtin*, by sevens (ii. i. 5).

If a noun ends in उर् *ur* [or उन् *un*], the *u* is changed to *a* in all cases except the nominative singular, e.g., वांदुर् *wādur*, a monkey ; nom. pl. वांदर् *wādar* ; instr. वांदरौ स्यतिन् *wādarau sūtin* (32). [So infinitives like कर्तुन् *karun* ; acc. करनम् *karanas*].

If in the case of masculine nouns of the first declension the final consonant is preceded by the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō*, in all cases of the plural except the nominative, but remains unchanged in the singular and in the nominative plural. The following masculine words ending in consonants do not, however, change this *ū* (35).

मूल् *mūl*, a root.

लूदुर् *lūd^ar*, eagerly desirous.

चूल् *chūl*, a cascade.

लूबुर् *lūb^ar*, eagerly desirous.

डूस् *dūs*, a stout club.

वूट् *wūṭ* (nom. sg. वूट् *wūṭh*, 66), a camel.

बूत् *būt* (nom. sg. बूथ् *būth*, 66),
a ghost.

सूर् *sūr*, ashes.

रूदु *rūd*, rain.

हूस् *hūs*, an uproar.

[चूर् *tsūr*, a thief], and others.

लूक् *lūk* (nom. sg. लूक् *lūkh*, 66), people.

Thus from मूल् *mūl*, acc. pl. मूलन् *mūlan*, not मोलन् *mōlan*.

If a masculine noun ends in क् *k*, च् *ch*, ङ् *ts*, ट् *t*, त् *t*, or प् *p*, this final consonant is aspirated in the nom. sg. and pl. (66); thus:—

Nom. sg. and pl.

त्रक् *trak*, a certain grain measure.

त्रक् *trākḥ*.

काङ् *kāṭs*, glass, a disease of the chest.

काङ् *kāṭṣḥ*.

कट् *kaṭ*, a ram.

कट् *kāṭḥ*.

रत् *rat*, blood.

रत् *rāṭḥ*.

हत् *hat*, a hundred.

हत् *hāṭḥ*.

ताप् *tāp*, sunshine.

ताप् *tāph*.

The aspiration is very faintly heard, being a final letter, but it affects the preceding vowel. The aspiration does not occur in the other cases; e.g., त्रक् सूतिन् *trak° sūtin* (instr.); काङ् सूतिन् *kāṭs° sūtin*; कट् पुष् *kaṭ° putṣhy* (dat. 2); तापस् यट् *tāpas pyāṭḥ* (loc.).

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t* or च् *ts* forms part of a compound consonant (even when a short ° is introduced between them to aid pronunciation) (68); thus:—

सूच् *s°ts*, a tailor (Elmslie, *sūts*); nom. sg. and pl. सूच् *s°ts*, not सूच् *s°tṣḥ*.

मसू *mast*, hair; nom. sg. and pl. मसू *mast*, not मसू *māsth*.

The word व्याक् *byākh*, another (2, 3, 24), becomes बिय् *biy* in all cases except the nom. sg., and is partially declined like a noun ending in *u-mātrā* (2nd declension); thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	व्याक् <i>byākh</i>	बिय् <i>biy</i> .
Acc.	बियिस् <i>biyis</i> .	बियन् <i>biyan</i> .
Ag.	बियि <i>biyṯ</i> .	बियौ <i>biyau</i> .

The Fem. Ag. is बियि *biyi*. In other forms it is the same as the Masc. This is really a compound word: made up of बि *bi*, other, and ञ् *ñkh*, one. The oblique forms are made up of the base बि *bi*, together with the emphatic particle य् *y*, which accounts for the apparent irregularities. बि *bi* is of the 2nd declension.

Noun ending in अ a.

अक *dyak^a* a forehead.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Nom.	अक <i>dyak^a</i> (ii. i. 1).	अक <i>dyak^a</i> (1).
Acc.	अकस् <i>dyakas</i> (38). अक <i>dyak^a</i> (39).	अकन् <i>dyakan</i> (38). अक <i>dyak^a</i> (39).
Gen.	अकुक् <i>dyakuk^u</i> (41, 48).	अकन् हन्द् <i>dyakan hand^u</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	अकस् षट् <i>dyakas pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).	अकन् षट् <i>dyakan pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	अकस् कित् <i>dyakas kyut^u</i> (54, 55).	अकन् कित् <i>dyakan kyut^u</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	अकस् सूतिन् <i>dyakas sūtin</i> (60).	अकन् सूतिन् <i>dyakan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	अकन् <i>dyakan</i> (i. 5a) or अक्कि <i>ḍekⁱ</i> (obsolete) (58; i. 4).	अकौ <i>dyakau</i> (56; i. 4).
Instr.	अक सूतिन् <i>dyak^a sūtin</i> (6, 59). अककि सूतिन् <i>dyakaki</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).	अकौ सूतिन् <i>dyakau sūtin</i> (59). अकन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>dyakan handi</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	अक अन्द्र <i>dyak^a andr^a</i> (4, 57).	अकौ अन्द्र <i>dyakau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	अक पुष् <i>dyak^a putshy</i> (63). अककि पुष् <i>dyakaki</i> <i>putshy</i> (67).	अकौ पुष् <i>dyakau putshy</i> (63). अकन् हन्दि पुष् <i>dyakan handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	अक निश् <i>dyak^a niç^a</i> (65).	अकौ निश् <i>dyakau niç^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined गर *gar^a*, a house ; अथ *āth^a*, a hand ; दाञ्ज *dāñṣ*, rice ; बत *bat^a*, boiled rice.

(c). Noun ending in क् ँ-mātrā.

दान् *dān^u*, a pomegranate.

Nom.	दान् <i>dān^u</i> (ii. i. 2).	दान् <i>dān^u</i> (2).
Acc.	दानस् <i>dān^us</i> (38).	दानन् <i>dān^un</i> (31, 13, 33).
	दान् <i>dān^u</i> (39).	दान् <i>dān^u</i> (39).
Gen.	दानक <i>dān^uk^u</i> (41, 48).	दानन् हन्दि <i>dān^un hand^u</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	दानस् षट् <i>dān^us pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).	दानन् षट् <i>dān^un pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	दानस् कितु <i>dān^us kyut^u</i> (54, 55).	दानन् कितु <i>dān^un kyut^u</i> (54, 55)
Concom.	दानस् सूतिन् <i>dān^us sūtin</i> (60).	दानन् सूतिन् <i>dān^un sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	दानन् <i>dān^un</i> .	दानव् <i>dān^uv</i> (20, 31, 56).
Instr.	दान् सूतिन् <i>dān^u sūtin</i> (59).	दानव् सूतिन् <i>dān^uv sūtin</i> (59).
	दानकि सूतिन् <i>dān^uki</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).	दानन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>dān^un handi</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	दान् अन्द्र <i>dān^u andr^a</i> (57).	दानव् अन्द्र <i>dān^uv andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	दान् पुष्प <i>dān^u putshy</i> (63).	दानव् पुष्प <i>dān^uv putshy</i> (63).
	दानकि पुष्प <i>dān^uki</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).	दानन् हन्दि पुष्प <i>dān^un handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	दान् निश <i>dān^u niṣ^a</i> (65).	दानव् निश <i>dān^uv niṣ^a</i> (65).

Īçvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent singular of these nouns. but दानन् *dān^un* is the correct form.

The following words are optionally declined as if ending in consonants, गन् *gan^u*, a leather-worker; गास् *gā^u*, a grass-seller; बाच् *bā^u*, a

people of a house ; हाँज़ हāñz̄, a boatman. Thus, acc. plur. गँज़न् gāñz̄n or गज़न् ganzan (15).

It must be remembered that ū-mātrā at the end of a word is not pronounced. Before a consonant (as in dāñv̄) it is pronounced like a short German ü. It is, also, slightly pronounced in the Instr. Loc. 2, Dat. 2, and Abl. Sing. Before ū-mātrā, a preceding a or ā must be modified to ă or ā respectively (70); e.g., as in दान् dāñv̄.

SECOND DECLENSION.

Masculine Nouns in उ u-mātrā.

करु karu, a bracelet.

Nom.	करु karu (ii. i. 8).	करि kari (30).
Acc.	करिस् karis (30, 38). करु karu (39).	कर्यन् karyan (12, 30, 38). करि kari (39).
Gen.	कर्यकु karyuk ^u (41, 48).	कर्यन् हन्टु karyan handu (42).
Loc. 1.	करिस् पठ् karis pyāth, &c. (52, 53).	कर्यन् पठ् karyan pyāth, &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	करिस् कितु karis kyutu (54, 55).	कर्यन् कितु karyan kyutu (54, 55).
Concom.	करिस् सूतिन् karis sūtin (60).	कर्यन् सूतिन् karyan sūtin (60).
Agent.	करि kari (6, 56).	कर्यौ karyau (56, 80; i. 10).
Instr.	करि सूतिन् kari sūtin (59). कर्यकि सूतिन् karēki sūtin (61).	कर्यौ सूतिन् karyau sūtin (59). कर्यन् हन्दि सूतिन् karyan handi sūtin (61).
Loc. 2.	करि अन्द्र kari andra (57).	कर्यौ अन्द्र karyau andra (57).
Dat. 2.	करि पुष् karī putshy (63). कर्यकि पुष् karēki putshy (63).	कर्यौ पुष् karyau putshy (63). कर्यन् हन्दि पुष् karyan handi putshy (63).
Abl.	करि निश् kari niṣa (65).	कर्यौ निश् karyau niṣa.

[also गुरिस निश् guris niṣa (in the case of masculine nouns with life).]

Similarly are declined गुर् *gur^u*, a horse; गूर् *gūr^u*, a cow-herd; गूल् *gūl^u*, a kernel, especially of the singārā; कुल् *kul^u*, a tree.

The final *u* becomes *i* (or *y*) throughout, except in the Nominative Singular, (30).

If the penultimate of a masculine noun contains the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō* in all cases of the Plural except the nominative. It does not change in the singular, or in the nominative plural, (34).

Thus गूर् *gūr^u*, a cowherd; acc. sg. गूरिस् *gūris*; nom. pl. गूरि *gūrⁱ*, but acc. pl. गोयन् *gōryan*.

The following words in *u-mātrā* are exceptions, and do not change the *ū* (35).

कसूर् *kastūr^u*, the nightingale.

कूट् *kūt^u*, a tree-trunk.

चूट् *tsūt^u*, an apple.

टूर् *tūr^u*, a woman's eating platter.

डूर् *ḍūr^u*, a flower-bed.

नसूर् *nastūr^u*, having a deformed nose.

Thus from कसूर् *kastūr^u*, acc. pl. कसूर्यन् *kastūryan*.

If a masculine noun ends in *u-mātrā*, and has ओ *ō* in the penultimate, this *ō* becomes *ā* in all cases of the singular except the nominative, and throughout the plural. Moreover, this *ā* is modified to *ā̄* before *i-mātrā*, and in the accusative singular (69, 70). Thus, वोल् *wōl^u*, an earring; acc. sg. वालिस् *wālis*; gen. sg., वाल्यकु *wālyuk^u* (from मोल् *mōl^u*, a father, मालि सन्दु *mālⁱ sand^u*); ag. sg. वालि *wālⁱ*; instr. sg. वालि स्ततिन् *wālⁱ sṭatin* (here the *i* is not *i-mātrā*, but is fully pronounced); nom. pl. वालि *wālⁱ*; acc. pl. वाल्यन् *wālyan*; ag. pl. वाल्यौ *wālyau*. Similarly are declined मोल् *mōl^u*, a father, and बोय् *bōy^u*, a brother; also masculine possessive pronouns, such as म्योन् *myōn^u*, mine; चोन् *cyōn^u*, mine; सोन् *sōn^u*, our.

Thus nom. sg. म्योनु *myōn^u*; acc. sg. म्यानिस् *myānis*; gen. sg. म्यानि सन्दु *myāni sand^u*; ag. sg. म्यानि *myāni*; nom. pl. म्यानि *myāni*; acc. pl. म्यान्यन् *myānyan*; ag. pl. म्यान्यौ *myānyau*; Instr. sg. म्यानि सूतिन् *myāni sūtin*, or म्यानि सन्दि सूतिन् *myāni sandi sūtin*. So also the others (ii. iii. 11 and ff.)

Moreover, whenever, in this declension, the letter *a* or *ā* is followed by *i-mātrā*, or *u-mātrā*, the *a* or *ā* become *a* or *ā* respectively. (ii. i. 70); thus,—

Base पट् *paṭ*, a woollen cloth; nom. sg. पटु *paṭ^u*; ag. sg. पटि *paṭi*; nom. pl. पटि *paṭi*; but, acc. sg. पटिस् *paṭis* (not पटिस् *paṭis*, as in the case of बोलु *wōl^u*); Instr. sg. पटि सूतिन् *paṭi sūtin* (fully pronounced *i*); acc. pl. पट्यन् *paṭyan*; ag. pl. पट्यौ *paṭyau*. So also हटु *haṭ^u*, the neck; वनु *vaṇ^u*, the body; सन्दु *sand^u*, suffix of genitive (acc. sg. सन्दिस् *sandis*; ag. sg. सन्दि *sandi*; instr. sg. सन्दि सूतिन् *sandi sūtin*; nom. pl. सन्दि *sandi*; acc. pl. सन्द्यन् *sandyan*; ag. pl. सन्द्यौ *sandyan*): similarly पद्यकु *paṭyuk^u* of a woollen cloth; acc. sg. पद्यकिस् *paṭēkis*; ag. sg. पद्यकि *paṭyaki*; instr. sg. पद्यकि सूतिन् *paṭēki sūtin*; nom. pl. पद्यकि *paṭyaki*; acc. pl. पद्यक्यन् *paṭēkyan*; ag. pl. पद्यक्यौ *paṭēkyau*.

Nouns in *u-mātrā*, of three or more syllables, if they have *u* in the penultimate, omit the *u* before *i-mātrā*, and change it to *a* in all other cases except the nominative singular (73, 75); thus:—

गाटुलु *gāṭul^u*, clever; acc. sg. गाटलिस् *gāṭalis*; ag. sg. गाटलि *gāṭli* (pronounced *gāṭ^{li}*); instr. sg. गाटलि सूतिन् *gāṭali sūtin*; gen. sg. गाटलि सन्दु *gāṭli sand^u*; nom. pl. गाटलि *gāṭli*; acc. pl. गाटल्यन् *gāṭalyan*; ag. pl. गाटल्यौ *gāṭalyau*.

This does not occur in the case of dissyllables; e.g., from कुलु *kul^u*, a tree; acc. sg. कुलिस् *kulis*, and not कलिस् *kalis*.

The following words in *u-mātrā*, with *u* in the penultimate, change

the penultimate *u* to *a* in all cases except the nominative, and are then declined like nouns of the first declension ending in consonants (74.)

ककुलु *kōtshul^u*, a porter.

वतुलु *tsōtul^u*, a sodomite.

चकुलु *tsakul^u*, circular.

गवगुलु *gōgul^u*, globular.

वातुलु *wātul^u*, a low-caste man.

बतुकु *batuk^u*, a drake.

गगुर् *gagur^u*, a rat.

म्वङ्गुर् *mōngur^u*, a kid.

ककुर् *kōkur^u*, a cock (iv. 1).

कोतुर् *kōtur^u*, a pigeon (iv. 1).

So also words in र् *r^u* signifying professions, &c. (iv. 6, 99 and ff.), e.g., खनुर् *sōnur^u*, a goldsmith, मनुर् *manur^u*, a shell worker.

See secondary suffixes No. 39.

Thus,—

Nom. sg. ककुलु *kōtshul^u*; acc. sg. ककुलस् *kōtshalas*; gen. sg. ककुलसन्दु *kōtshal^a sand^u*; ag. sg. ककुलन् *kōtshalan*; instr. sg. ककुल सृतिन् *kōtshal^a sūtin*; nom. pl. ककुल *kōtshal*; acc. pl. ककुलन् *kōtshalan*; ag. pl. ककुलौ *kōtshalau*.

If a word ending in *u-mātrā* has *yu* or *i* in the penultimate of the nom. sg., it has *i* in the penultimate in all the other cases (ii. i. 76). [These words are spelt indifferently with *yu* or *i* in the nominative, but are always pronounced as if *yu* was written. Thus महन्युव *mahanyuv^u*, or महनिव *mahaniv^u*, a man, both pronounced *mahanyuv*; ज्युठु *zyuth^u*, or ज़िठु *ziṭh^u*, old, but both pronounced *zyuth*. On the other hand, in other cases, except the nominative, we have only *i*, pronounced as *i*]: thus; ज्युठु *zyuth^u*, old; acc. sg. ज़िठिस् *ziṭhis*; ag. sg. ज़िठि *ziṭhⁱ*; nom. pl. ज़िठि *ziṭhⁱ*; acc. pl. ज़ियन् *ziṭhyan*; ag. pl. ज़ियौ *ziṭhyau*.

Similarly, when the penultimate is *yū*, it becomes *ī* before *i-mātrā* or *is*, and *ē* in other cases, except the nom. sg. (77, 78); thus,—

Nom. sg. चूनु *tsyūn^u*, a wall; acc. sg. चीनिस् *tsīnis*; gen. sg. चैन्युकु *tsēnyuk^u*; ag. sg. चीनि *tsīnⁱ*; instr. sg. चेनि स्तितिन् *tsēni sūtin* (not *i-mātrā*); nom. pl. चीनि *tsīnⁱ*; acc. pl. चैन्यन् *tsēnyan*; ag. pl. चैन्यौ *tsēnyau*.

[The word न्यूनु *nyūn^u*, blue, however, has *ī* throughout. Thus, gen. sg. नील्युकु *nīlyuk^u*; instr. sg. नीलि स्तितिन् *nīli sūtin*; acc. pl. नील्यन् *nīlyan*; ag. pl. नील्यौ *nīlyau*.

So also in यूनु *yyūn^u*, how much; तूनु *tyūn^u*, so much; यूनु *yūn^u*, this much; change the यू *yū* to *ī* throughout (ii. iii. 27). Thus, यीति *yītiⁱ*, how many (nom. pl.); तीति *tītiⁱ*; ईति *ītiⁱ*, pr. *yītiⁱ*.]

The ऊ *ū* in कूनु *kūn^u*, how many? (ii. iii. 25, 26) becomes ऊ *ū*, in all cases except the nominative singular. In the obl. cases of the plural, it may optionally become ऐ *ai*. Thus—

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Nom. कूनु *kūn^u*.

कूति *kūtiⁱ*.

Acc. कूतिस् *kūtis*.

कूत्यन् *kūtyan* or कैत्यन् *kaityan*.

Ag. कूति *kūtiⁱ*.

कूत्यौ *kūtyau* or कैत्यौ *kaityau*.

Its fem. is कूचू *kūtsū*.

The word कूँह् *kūñh*, or काँह् *kāñh*, a certain person, is declined as a feminine ending in a consonant (ii. iii. 29).

THIRD DECLENSION.

Feminine nouns ending in इ *i-mātrā*, ऊ *ū-mātrā*, or ञ् *ñ*.

पूथि *pūthi*, a book.

(a). Nouns ending in इ *i-mātrā*.

Nom.	पूथि <i>pūthi</i> (ii. i. 9).	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (11, 33).
Acc.	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (21, 33, 38, 40).	पोथ्यन् <i>pōthyan</i> (12, 38).
	पूथि <i>pūthi</i> (39).	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (39).
Gen.	पोथ्य हन्द् <i>pōthē hand^u</i> (42).	पोथ्यन् हन्द् <i>pōthyan hand^u</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	पोथ्य षट् <i>pōthē pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).	पोथ्यन् षट् <i>pōth yan pyāṭh</i> (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	पोथ्य कितु <i>pōthē kyut^u</i> (54, 55).	पोथ्यन् कितु <i>pōthyan kyut^u</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	पोथ्य सूतिन् <i>pōthē sūtin</i> (60).	पोथ्यन् सूतिन् <i>pōthyan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	पोथि <i>pōthi</i> (6, 56).	पोथ्यौ <i>pōthyan</i> (56; i. 4).
Instr.	पोथि सूतिन् <i>pōthi sūtin</i> (33, 59).	पोथ्यौ सूतिन् <i>pōthyan sūtin</i> (59).
	पोथ्य हन्दि सूतिन् <i>pōthē handi sūtin</i> (61).	पोथ्यन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>pōthyan handi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	पोथि अन्द्र <i>pōthi andr^a</i> (57).	पोथ्यौ अन्द्र <i>pōthyan andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	पोथि पुष् <i>pōthi putshy</i> (63).	पोथ्यौ पुष् <i>pōthyan putshy</i> (33, 63).
	पोथ्य हन्दि पुष् <i>pōthē handi putshy</i> (63).	पोथ्यन् हन्दि पुष् <i>pōthyan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	पोथि निश् <i>pōthi niṣ^a</i> (65).	पोथ्यौ निश् <i>pōthyan niṣ^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined, जूरि *ñūrⁱ*, a hoof; खीर्ति *khīlⁱ*, a field; चीर् *cīrⁱ*, a lottery ticket.

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō* in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus पूथि *pūthi* a book; nom. pl. पोथ्य *pōthē* (33).

So also a penultimate *ī* becomes a *ē* in the same circumstance. Thus खीति *khētī*, a field; nom. pl. खेत्य *khētē*. The word चीरि *cīri*, a lottery-ticket or slip, does not, however, change its long *ī*, and its nom. pl. is चीर्य *cīrē* (33).

(b). Nouns ending in ऊ *ū-mātrā*.

कूरू *kūrū*, a girl.

Nom.	कूरू <i>kūrū</i> (ii. i. 9).	कोर्य <i>kōrē</i> (11, 30, 33).
Acc.	कोर्य <i>kōrē</i> (21, 33, 38, 40).	कोर्यन् <i>kōryan</i> (12, 30, 33, 38).
	कूरू <i>kūrū</i> (39).	कोर्य <i>kōrē</i> (39).
Gen.	कोर्य हन्दि <i>kōrē handi</i> (42).	कोर्यन् हन्दि <i>kōryan handi</i> .
Loc. 1.	कोर्य पठ् <i>kōrē pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).	कोर्यन् पठ् <i>kōryan pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	कोर्य कितु <i>kōrē kyut</i> (54, 55).	कोर्यन् कितु <i>kōryan kyut</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	कोर्य सूतिन् <i>kōrē sūtin</i> (60).	कोर्यन् सूतिन् <i>kōryan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	कोरि <i>kōri</i> (6, 56).	कोर्यौ <i>kōryau</i> (56, 30; i. 4).
Instr.	कोरि सूतिन् <i>kōri sūtin</i> (6, 30, 59).	कोर्यौ सूतिन् <i>kōryau sūtin</i> (33, 59).
	कोर्य हन्दि सूतिन् <i>kōrē handi sūtin</i> (61).	कोर्यन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>kōryan handi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	कोरि अन्द्र <i>kōri andr</i> (57).	कोर्यौ अन्द्र <i>kōryau andr</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	कोरि पुष् <i>kōri putshy</i> (63).	कोर्यौ पुष् <i>kōryau putshy</i> (63).
	कोर्य हन्दि पुष् <i>kōrē handi putshy</i> (63).	कोर्यन् हन्दि पुष् <i>kōryan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	कोरि निश <i>kōri niṣ</i> (65).	कोर्यौ निश <i>kōryau niṣ</i> (65).

Similarly are declined पट् $paṭṭ̄$, a tablet; हट् $haṭṭ̄$, wood; काठ् $kāṭṭ̄$, a stalk, especially the non-edible part of asparagus, sugarcane, &c.; बड् $baḍṭ̄$, a great woman; तञ्ज् $taññ̄$ (or तञ् $tañ$) a slender woman; लण्ड् $laṇḍṭ̄$, a branch.

The final $ū$ - becomes i (or y) throughout, except in the nom. sg. (30).

All nouns of this declension ending in ट् $ṭ̄$, ठ् $ṭh̄$, or ड् $ḍ̄$, change the consonant to the corresponding palatal, in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus—

Nom. sing.	Nom. pl.
पट् $paṭṭ̄$.	पच्च $pacč̄$.
काठ् $kāṭṭ̄$.	काच्च $kācch̄$.
बड् $baḍṭ̄$.	बच्च $bajč̄$.

This change only occurs when the word ends in $ū$ -mātrā (22). It does not occur when it ends in a consonant (26).

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel $ū$, that $ū$ becomes $ō$ in all cases except the nom. singular, thus कूर् $kūr̄$, a girl, nom. pl. कोर्य $kōr̄$ (33).

The following are exceptions and do not change the $ū$ (35). तूर् $tūr̄$ cold; दूर् $dūr̄$, a lane; मूर् $mūr̄$, a twig. Thus from तूर् $tūr̄$; nom. pl. तूर्य $tūr̄$.

So also a penultimate $ī$ becomes $ē$ in the same circumstances. Thus, सीर् $sīr̄$, a brick, nom. pl. सेर्य $sēr̄$. The following words (33) however, do not change,—

गीर् $gīr̄$, red-chalk.	Nom. pl. गीर्य $gīr̄$.
गीद् $gīd̄$, child's excrement.	गीच्च $gīd̄$.
टौठ् $t̄iṭṭ̄$, pride.	टौच्च $t̄iṭch̄$ (22).
टीर् $tīr̄$, cold-boiled-rice-pudding.	टीर्य $tīr̄$.
पीर् $pīr̄$, a table.	पीर्य $pīr̄$.

Whenever in this declension *ū-mātrā* is preceded by *a* or *ā*, the *a* or *ā* become modified to *a* or *ā* respectively (70). Thus,

Base पट् *paṭ*, a tablet; nom. sg. पट् *paṭ̄*, but acc. sg. पच्य *pačyě*; ag. sg. पचि *paci* (*i* fully pronounced,—not *i-mātrā*); nom. pl. पच्य *pačě*; acc. pl. पचन् *pačyan*; ag. pl. पचौ *pačyau*.

So,—Base माज् *māj*, a mother; nom. sg. माज् *māj̄*; but acc. sg. माज्य *mājě*.

Again; Base, काठ् *kāṭh*, wood; nom. sg. काठ् *kāṭh̄*; acc. sg. काष्ठ *kāchě*.

(c). Nouns ending in ज् *ñ*.

Similarly are declined all feminine nouns in ज् *ñ*, thus म्याज् *myāñ*, mine (fem.).

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	म्याज् <i>myāñ</i> .	म्याज् <i>myāñě</i> .
Acc.	म्याज् <i>myāñě</i> .	म्याजन् <i>myāñan</i> .
Ag.	म्याजि <i>myāñi</i> .	म्याजौ <i>myāñau</i> .

The vowel is only modified in the nom. sing. So also चाज् *cyāñ* thine (fem.); साज् *sāñ*, our (fem.) (ii. iii. ll and ff).

As the semivowel य *ya* cannot, as a rule, immediately follow च् *ts*, क् *tsh*, or ज् *z*, when a noun ends in च् *ts̄*, क् *tsh̄*, or ज् *z̄*, the य *ya* is elided in declension. Thus मच् *maṭs̄*, mad, (feminine): nom. pl. मच् *maṭs̄^a*, not मच्य *maṭs̄ě*. कक् *kwatsh̄*, a small bag: pl. कक् *kōṭs̄^a*. व्वर्ज् *wōr̄^az̄*, a woman who has married twice, pl. व्वर्ज् *wōr̄^az̄^a*. (iv. 51).

The य *ya* is, however, retained in the singular. Thus the acc. sg. is मच्य *maṭs̄ě*, कक् *kōṭsh̄ě*, and व्वर्ज्य *wōr̄^az̄ě*.

FOURTH DECLENSION.

Nouns ending in अ a, or a consonant.

(a). Nouns ending in अ a

बय्ज बें॒ँ॒ ब॒ँ॒ँ, a sister.

Nom.	बय्ज बें॒ँ॒ (ii. i. 1).	बय्ज बें॒ँ॒ (1).
Acc.	बय्ज बें॒ँ॒ (38, 40, 39).	बय्जन् बें॒ँ॒ (38). बय्ज बें॒ँ॒ (39).
Gen.	बय्ज ह॒न्द् बें॒ँ॒ ह॒न्द् (42).	बय्जन् ह॒न्द् बें॒ँ॒ ह॒न्द् (42).
Loc. 1.	बय्ज ष॒ट् बें॒ँ॒ ष॒ट् (52, 53).	बय्जन् ष॒ट् बें॒ँ॒ ष॒ट्, &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	बय्ज कि॒त् बें॒ँ॒ कि॒त् (54, 55).	बय्जन् कि॒त् बें॒ँ॒ कि॒त् (54, 55).
Concom.	बय्ज स॒त्तिन् बें॒ँ॒ स॒त्तिन् (60).	बय्जन् स॒त्तिन् बें॒ँ॒ स॒त्तिन् (60).
Agent.	बय्जि बें॒ँ॒ (56; i. 4).	बय्जौ बें॒ँ॒ (56, i. 4).
Instr.	बय्जि स॒त्तिन् बें॒ँ॒ स॒त्तिन् (59).	बय्जौ स॒त्तिन् बें॒ँ॒ स॒त्तिन् (59).
	बय्ज ह॒न्दि स॒त्तिन् बें॒ँ॒ ह॒न्दि स॒त्तिन् (61).	बय्जन् ह॒न्दि स॒त्तिन् बें॒ँ॒ ह॒न्दि स॒त्तिन् (61).
Loc. 2.	बय्जि अ॒न्द् बें॒ँ॒ अ॒न्द् (57).	बय्जौ अ॒न्द् बें॒ँ॒ अ॒न्द् (57).
Dat. 2.	बय्जि पु॒ष् बें॒ँ॒ पु॒ष् (63).	बय्जौ पु॒ष् बें॒ँ॒ पु॒ष् (63).
	बय्ज ह॒न्दि पु॒ष् बें॒ँ॒ ह॒न्दि पु॒ष् (63).	बय्जन् ह॒न्दि पु॒ष् बें॒ँ॒ ह॒न्दि पु॒ष् (63).
Abl.	बय्जि नि॒ष् बें॒ँ॒ नि॒ष् (65).	बय्जौ नि॒ष् बें॒ँ॒ नि॒ष् (65).

(b). Nouns ending in a consonant.

माल् *māl*, a garland.

Nom.	माल् <i>māl</i> (ii. i. 10).	माल <i>māl^a</i> (11).
Acc.	मालि <i>māli</i> (37, 38, 40).	मालन् <i>mālan</i> (12, 38).
	माल् <i>māl</i> (39).	माल <i>māl^a</i> (39).
Gen.	मालि हन्द् <i>māli haṇḍ^a</i> (42).	मालन् हन्द् <i>mālan haṇḍ^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	मालि षट् <i>māli pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).	मालन् षट् <i>mālan pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	मालि कित् <i>māli kyut^a</i> (54, 55).	मालन् कित् <i>mālan kyut^a</i> .
Concom.	मालि सूतिन् <i>māli sūtin</i> (60).	मालन् सूतिन् <i>mālan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	मालि <i>māli</i> (56).	मालौ <i>mālau</i> (56).
Instr.	मालि सूतिन् <i>māli sūtin</i> (59).	मालौ सूतिन् <i>mālau sūtin</i> (59).
	मालि हन्दि सूतिन् <i>māli handi sūtin</i> (61).	मालन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>mālan handi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2	मालि अन्द्र <i>māli andr^a</i> (57).	मालौ अन्द्र <i>mālau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2	मालि पुष् <i>māli putshy</i> (63).	मालौ पुष् <i>mālau putshy</i> (63).
	मालि हन्दि पुष् <i>māli handi putshy</i> (63).	मालन् हन्दि पुष् <i>mālan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	मालि निश् <i>māli niṣ^a</i> (65).	मालौ निश् <i>mālau niṣ^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined कक् *krak*, a loud noise; नारिज् *nārij*, a conduit; जंग् *zang*, a thigh.

Note that when a noun ends in क् *k*, च् *c*, त्स् *ts*, ट् *t*, त् *t* or प् *p*, these letters are aspirated in the nom. sing. (66, 67) ; thus—

	Nom. sg.	but Nom. pl.
क्रक् <i>krak</i> , a loud noise.	क्रक् <i>krākḥ</i> .	क्रक <i>krak^a</i> .
रच् <i>rats</i> , abrus precatorius.	रक् <i>rātsh</i> .	रच <i>rat^s^a</i> .
रट्च् <i>rts</i> , a sub-caste.	रट्क् <i>rtsh</i> .	रट्च <i>rt^s^a</i> .
नट् <i>nat</i> , trembling.	नट् <i>nāth</i> .	नट <i>nat^a</i> .
वत् <i>wat</i> , a road.	वथ् <i>wāth</i> .	वत <i>wat^a</i> .
चाप् <i>tsāp</i> , food.	चाप् <i>tsāph</i> .	चाप <i>tsāp^a</i> .

The aspiration, being at the end of a word, is barely audible, but it affects the preceding vowel. It only occurs in the nominative singular.

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t* or च् *ts* forms part (either the first or second member) of a compound consonant (even when a short *a* is inserted to aid pronunciation) (68) : thus;—

	Nom. sg.
बत्च् <i>bat^ac</i> , a duck.	बत्च् <i>bat^ac</i> (elsewhere spelled बत्चू <i>bat^ac^ū</i> , see p. 32).
ब्वक्च् <i>bōk^ats</i> , a female puppy. ¹	ब्वक्च् <i>bōk^ats</i> .
मक्च् <i>mak^ats</i> , an axe.	मक्च् <i>mak^ats</i> .
नस्त् <i>nast</i> , nose.	नस्त् <i>nast</i> .

Other compounds are, however, aspirated. Thus,—

	Nom. sg.	Nom. pl.
रेम्प् <i>rēmp</i> , a little.	रेम्प् <i>rēmph</i> .	रेम्प <i>rēmp^a</i> .
चाम्प् <i>tsāmp</i> , consolation.	चाम्प् <i>tsāmph</i> .	चाम्प <i>tsāmp^a</i> .

The word ज़ाम् *zām*, a husband's sister, is irregular (71). In all cases, except the nominative singular, it becomes ज़ोम् *zōm*, and drops every vowel in the terminations. Thus; acc. sg. ज़ोम् *zōm*; ag. sg.

¹ So Içvara-kaula. Mr. H. Knowles informs me that this word means the young of any animal.

जोम् *zōm*; nom. pl. जोम् *zōm*; acc. pl. जोम्न् *zōm^an*; ag. pl. जोम्ब् *zōm^av*; instr. sg. जोम् सूतिन् *zōm sūtin*; gen. sg. जोम् हन्द् *zōm haṇd^u*, &c.

The word मूष् *mūṣ* (ii. iii. 28), a buffalo-cow, changes ज *ū* to *ai* in all cases except the nom. sg., thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	मूष् <i>mūṣ</i> .	मैष् <i>maĩṣ^a</i> .
Acc.	मैषि <i>maĩṣi</i> .	मैषन् <i>maĩṣan</i> .
Ag.	मैषि <i>maĩṣi</i> .	मैषौ <i>maĩṣau</i> .

The word कूह् *kūh* or काह् *kāh*, any one, some one, though of both genders, is always declined as a feminine, in the sg. number. It changes ज *ū* and आ *ā* to ऐ *ai* and ह् *h* to स् *s* in all cases except the nom. sg. (ii. iii. 29). It becomes केन्च् *kēnts* in the plural (ii. iii. 30) and is then declined as a masculine.

Thus,—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	कूह् <i>kūh</i> , काह् <i>kāh</i> .	केन्च् <i>kēnts</i> .
Acc.	कैसि <i>kaĩsi</i> .	केन्च्न् <i>kēnts^an</i> .
Ag.	कैसि <i>kaĩsi</i> .	केन्चौ <i>kēnts^aau</i> .

(c). Irregular Feminine Nouns, ending in Consonants.

रात् *rāt*, night.

Nom.	राथ् <i>rāth</i> (ii. i. 10, 66).	राच् <i>rāts̄</i> (16, 23).
Acc.	राच् <i>rāts̄</i> (16, 23, 38,	राच्न् <i>rāts̄n</i> (14, 16, 23, 38).
	40).	
	राथ् <i>rāth</i> (39).	राच् <i>rāts̄</i> (39).
Gen.	राच् हन्द् <i>rāts̄ hand̄</i> (42).	राच्न् हन्द् <i>rāts̄n hand̄</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	राच् मज्ज <i>rāts̄ manz</i> , &c. (52, 53).	राच्न् मज्ज <i>rāts̄n manz</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	राच् कित् <i>rāts̄ kyut̄</i> (54, 55).	राच्न् कित् <i>rāts̄n kyut̄</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	राच् स्रतिन् <i>rāts̄ s̄utin</i> (60).	राच्न् स्रतिन् <i>rāts̄n s̄utin</i> .
Agent.	राच् <i>rāts̄</i> (7, 17).	राच्व् <i>rāts̄v</i> (20, 56).
Instr.	राच् स्रतिन् <i>rāts̄ s̄utin</i> (59).	राच्व् स्रतिन् <i>rāts̄v s̄utin</i> (59).
	राच् हन्दि स्रतिन् <i>rāts̄ handi s̄utin</i> (61).	राच्न् हन्दि स्रतिन् <i>rāts̄n handi s̄utin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	राच् अन्द्र <i>rāts̄ andr̄</i> (57).	राच्व् अन्द्र <i>rāts̄v andr̄</i> .
Dat. 2.	राच् पुष् <i>rāts̄ putshy</i> (63).	राच्व् पुष् <i>rāts̄v putshy</i> (63).
	राच् हन्दि पुष् <i>rāts̄ handi putshy</i> (63).	राच्न् हन्दि पुष् <i>rāts̄n handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	राच् निष् <i>rāts̄ niṣ̄</i> (65).	राच्व् निष् <i>rāts̄v niṣ̄</i> (65).

This group of irregular nouns consists of most feminine nouns in त् *t*, थ् *th*, द् *d*, न् *n*, ह् *h*, and certain nouns in ल् *l*. In all these cases the final consonant is changed as follows :—

त् <i>t</i>	becomes च् <i>ts</i>
थ् <i>th</i>	श् <i>tsh</i>
द् <i>d</i>	ज् <i>z</i>
न् <i>n</i>	ञ् <i>ñ</i>
ह् <i>h</i>	श् <i>ç</i>
ल् <i>l</i>	ज् <i>j</i>

e.g., रात् <i>rāt</i> , night ;	Nom. pl. राच् <i>rāts̄</i> (23, 14, 16).
कथ् <i>kōth</i> , a hank ;	कश् <i>kwatsh̄</i> (23, 14, 16).
ग्रन्द् <i>grand</i> , a counting ;	ग्रज् <i>granz̄</i> (23, 14, 16).
ईरन् <i>yīran</i> , an anvil ;	ईरञ् <i>īrañ̄</i> (23, 14, 16).
काह् <i>kāh</i> , eleventh lunar day ;	काश् <i>kāç̄</i> (19, 14, 16).
वाल् <i>wāl</i> , a hole ;	वाज् <i>wāj̄</i> (27, 14, 16).

Other examples are सत् *sat*, hope ; हान् *hān*, loss ; चामन् *tsāman*, cheese.

The words in ल् *l* which follow this declension are वाल् *wāl*, a hole (as that of a serpent) ; साल् *sāl*, a wife's sister ; जाल् *zāl*, a net ; कल् *kal*, thought, consideration ; and हाल् *hāl*, a house, a hall (27, 28). The word हाल् *hāl* when it is at the end of a masculine compound is, however, declined regularly ; thus चाटहालम् अन्दर् *tsātahālas andar* (not चाटहाज् अन्दर् *tsātahāj̄ andar*,) in the school-house, because चाटहाल् *tsātahāl* is masculine (28). The words कुण्डल् *kunḍal*, a kind of cup (especially the cup of a portable stove), and कर्तल् *kartal* a sword, may optionally be regular. Thus कुण्डज् सृतिन् *kunḍaj̄ sṛtin* or कुण्डलि सृतिन् *kunḍali sṛtin*, by the cup, (29).

EXCEPTIONS. The following nouns are however declined regularly (24, 25) :—

वत् *wat*, a road.

लत् *lat*, a kick.

दत् *dat*, a clod.

थ्वत् *thōt*, an impediment.

चत् *tsōt*, the anus.

चिन्त् *tsitt*, a sprain.

चैत् *tsēt*, tumbling head over heels.

गत् *g^{at}*, a rise in a river, a swift flood.

पौत् *pīt*, a trifle.

तेत् *tōt*, a beak.

कथ् *kāth*, a story.

वय् *vyāth*, the river Jhelum.

खन् *khōn*, the elbow.

तन् *tan*, the body.

नान् *nān*, the navel.

खन् *sōn*, a co-wife.

हन् *han*, a little.

बन् *ban*, a heap, pile.

Thus वति स्त्रतिन् *wati sṛtin*, not वच् स्त्रतिन् *wat^s sṛtin*.

It must be remembered that the *ū-mātrā* modifies a preceding *a* to *ā*, and *ā* to *ā̄* (71). When final it is not pronounced. When it precedes a consonant it is pronounced like a short German *ü*. Thus राच् *rāts^u* is pronounced something like, German, *rōtsüv*.

It must also be remembered that words ending in *t* form the nominative singular in *th* (66). Thus the nom. sg. of रात् *rāt*, night, is राथ् *rāth*, and of वत् *wat*, a road, is वथ् *wath*.

The words यड् *yad*, belly ; गाव् *gāv*, a cow ; थर् *thar*, the back ; कड्

kōṭh, a fragrant root, *Aucklandia Costus*; वड् *wad*, discount; are similarly declined, except that they do not change their final consonant. Thus यड् सृतिन् *yadṣ sṛtin*, by the belly (7). Nom. pl. यड् *yadṣ* (17).

The words खार् *khār*, an ass's load, a certain measure; मार *mār*, the name of a river; सार *sār*, a cross-beam, for strengthening; राग् *rāḡ*, stock-in-trade; follow the same rule. *E.g.*, nom. pl. खार् *khārṣ* (18). [*Sūtra* 18, apparently only refers to the plural. But the singular follows the same rule, *e.g.*, खार् सृतिन् *khārṣ sṛtin*, by the measure].

The word गाव् *gāv*, abovementioned, changes its *ā* to *ō* in all cases except the nom. sg. (72); thus, acc. sg. गोव् *gōvṣ*; ag. sg. गोव् *gōvṣ*; nom. pl. गोव् *gōvṣ*; acc. pl. गोवन् *gōvṣn*; ag. pl. गोव्व् *gōvṣv*.

E. Composition and Concordance.

Īçvara-kaula, in his *Kāçmīra-çabdāmṛta*, treats of the two subjects forming the title of this section, in the *Samāsa-prakriyā*, the third portion of his grammar. He treats an adjective in concord with a noun as an example of a *karmadhāraya*, or adjectival compound. Really, as will be seen, it is not a compound at all, but an instance of syntactical agreement. Just as *bonus homo*, in Latin means a good man, and *boni hominis*, of a good man, so *baḍṣ larṣ*, in *Kāçmīrī* means a large house, and *baji lari pyaṭh*, means from a great house.

In the case of all compounds and concordances the postposition denoting the case is omitted after every member of the compound, except the last, but each member is inflected as if to receive the postposition (iii. 2). Thus, इत्तु गुर् *chatṣ gurṣ* means, a white horse. The instrumental plural of इत्तु *chatṣ* is इत्यौ सृतिन् *chatyau sṛtin*, and of गुर् *gurṣ* is गुयौ सृतिन् *guryau sṛtin*, but the instrumental plural of इत्तु गुर् *chatṣ gurṣ*, is इत्यौ गुयौ सृतिन् *chatyau guryau sṛtin*, not इत्यौ सृतिन् गुयौ सृतिन् *chatyau sṛtin guryau sṛtin*, by white horses. When there is no postposition these remarks, of course, do not apply. Thus the accusative singular is इतिस् गुरिस् *chatis guris*, and the nom. pl. is इति गुरि *chatṣ guri*.

Karmadhāraya or adjectival compounds are expressed in Kāçmīrī by an adjective agreeing with its substantive in gender, number and case. The above rule about postpositions must be applied. Thus बड् ¹द्यार् *baḍ^u dyār* (masc.), great wealth; बद्यन् द्यारन् छुह जेनान् *badyan dyāran chuh zēnān*, he is earning great wealth (acc. pl.); म्वचि च्चि स्रतिन् *mōci tsōci sūtin*, by a thick (¹म्वट् *moṭ^u*) cake (¹चट् *tswat^u*, fem.); बिचि कोरि पुष् *trichi kōri putshy*, for a clever (¹युष् *tryukh^u*, fem. चिक् *trich^u*) girl (¹कूर *kūr^u*); बजि लरि यठ *baji lari pyāth^a* from the big (¹बड् *baḍ^u*) house (¹लर *lar^u*); बज्य ग्रञ्ज हन्दु *bajē granz^u hanḍ^u*, of the big counting (¹यन् *grand*); बडिस् गुरिस् यठ *baḍis guris pyāth*, on the great horse (¹गुर *gur^u*). And so on.

In **Copulative** (*dvandva*) compounds each member of the compound is declined separately, the above rule as to post-positions being observed. Thus, base ताप् *tāp*, light (masc.); गट *gaṭ^a*, darkness (fem.). The nom. sg. of ताप् *tāp* is ताफ् *tāph* and the instr. sg. is ताप स्रतिन् *tāp^a sūtin*. So from गट *gaṭ^a*, the nom. sg. is गट *gaṭ^a*, and the instr. sg. गटि स्रतिन् *gaṭi sūtin*. The compound noun, 'light and darkness' is nom. sg. ताफ् गट *tāph-gaṭ^a*; instr. sg. ताप-गटि स्रतिन् *tāp^a-gaṭi sūtin*, and so on. Again वार *wār^u* (fem.) is a garden; कुल् *kul^u* (masc.) is a tree; फल् *phal* (masc.) is fruit; and जल् *zal* (masc.) is water. Making these into a copulative compound we have in the dative sg. वारि-कुलि-फल-जल पुष् *wāri-kuli-phal^a-zal^a putshy*, for the garden, the tree, the fruit, and the water. Sometimes each member is put in the plural, the whole collective idea being plural though each member of the compound is properly in the singular. Thus माज् *māj^u*, a mother, nom. pl. माज्य *mājē*; कूर *kūr^u*, a daughter, nom. pl. कोर्य *kōrē*. Hence माज्य-कोर्य *mājē-kōrē*, mother and daughter. So मालि पुथर् *mālī-puth^{ar}*, father and son (¹मोलु *mōl^u*, a father; पुथर् *puth^{ar}*, a son); हश्-नवष *haṣ^a-nōṣ^a*, mother-in-law (¹हश् *haṣ*) daughter-in-law (¹नवष *nōṣ*); जोम्-काकज *zōm-kākañē*, husband's sister (¹जाम् *zām*) and brother's wife (¹काकज् *kākañ*); पच्य-कूच *pacē-kūcē*, board (¹पट् *paṭ^u*) and wood (¹कूट *kūt^u*).

In **Tatpuruṣa** or appositional compounds, the first member usually takes the form which the word adopts in the agent, the न् *n* of the agent of the 1st declension, being dropped. We may also say that the first member of the compound is put in the genitive, the post-position being dropped, and *y* being changed to *i* (iii. 5).

Thus, आकि-खश् *ṣrāki-khaç*, the cut of a knife (आख् *ṣrākh*, fem.).

टोपि-फल् *tōpi-phal^u*, the border of a cap (टूपि *tūpⁱ*, fem.).

सर्प-बय स्ततिन् *sar^ap^a-bay^a sūtin*, by the fear (बय *bay^a*, masc.) of a snake (सर्फ् *sar^aph*, masc.).

राज-न्यचिवि पुश् *rāz^a-nēcivi putshy*, for the son (न्यचुव् *nēc^{yuv^u}*) of the king (राज *rāz^a*).

बट-कोर्य हन्दु *baṭ^a-kōrē hand^u*, of the daughter (कूर् *kūr^u*) of the brāhmaṇa (बट *baṭ^a*).

खन-डब अन् *sōn^a-ḍab^a an*, bring the box (डब *ḍab^a*, masc.) of gold (खन् *sōn*, masc.), i.e., the gold box.

म्यचि-कतु थव् *mētsi-phot^u thav*, put down a basket (कतु *phot^u* masc.) (full) of earth (म्यच् *myat^s*).

Irregular formations.

1. When the word पोञ्जु *pōñ^u*, water, forms the second member of one of these compounds, it becomes वोञ्जु *wōñ^u* (iii. 6). Thus,—

गंग-वोञ्जु *gang^a-wōñ^u*, the water of the Ganges.

व्यथ-वोञ्जु *vyath^a-wōñ^u*, the water of the Jhelum.

शीन-वोञ्जु *ṣīn^a-wōñ^u*, snow-water.

वुग-वोञ्जु *wug^a-wōñ^u*, flood-water.

मार्ह-वोञ्जु *mār^h-wōñ^u*, the water of the Mār [see p. 67].

क्रीरि-वोञ्जु *krīrⁱ-wōñ^u*, well (कूर *kryūr^u*, masc.) water.

रूद-वोञ्जु *rūd^a-wōñ^u*, rain-water.

नाग-वोञ्जु *nāg^a-wōñ^u*, spring-water.

2. The words पोञ्ज् *pōñ^u*, water, दाञ्ज् *dāñĕ* (masc.) rice, वोञ्ज् *wōñ^u*, a merchant, and others, become पां *pā*, दां *dā*, and वां *wā* respectively, when (iii. 7, 8) they are first members of one of these compounds.

Thus,—

पां-वख् *pā-trāk^h*, a measure ($4\frac{3}{4}$ sērs) of water.

पां-नट् *pā-naṭ^u*, a water-bucket.

दां-खार् *dā-khār*, a measure (16 *trākhs*) of rice.

दां-फत् *dā-phoṭ^u*, a basket (full) of rice.

वां-द्यल् *wā-dyaḷ^u*, the merchant's straw.

वां-कूर् *wā-kūr^u*, the merchant's daughter.

3. The प *p* of the word पथर् *paṭ^ar*, a leaf, becomes व *w* in masculine compounds (iii. 9). Thus,—

बोजि-वथर् *bōñi-waṭ^ar*, plane-tree-leaves.

पोष-वथर् *pōṣ^a-waṭ^ar*, a flower-petal.

ख्यल्ल-वथर् *khyalla-waṭ^ar*, a leaf of the lotus-grass.

हाक-वथर् *hāk^a-waṭ^ar*, spinach-leaves.

When, however, the compound is feminine, the word पथर् *paṭ^ar*, becomes पत् *paṭ^a*. Thus

मुजि-पत् *mujī-paṭ^a* (fem.), a radish-leaf.

ग्वग्जि-पत् *gōg^aji-paṭ^a* (fem.), a turnip-leaf.

4. The word चट् *ṭswaṭ^u*, a cake (fem.), is restricted in composition to cakes made of grain (iii. 12). Thus

तमल्-चट् *tōm^ala-ṭswaṭ^u*, rice-cake.

कन्क-चट् *kan^aka-ṭswaṭ^u*, wheat-cake.

बुष्कि-चट् *wuṣki-ṭswaṭ^u*, barley-cake.

If not made of grain, the word म्वाण्ड *mwāṇḍ^u*, must be substituted.

Thus

ठूल-म्वड् *thūl^a-mwand^u*, egg-cake.

नदुरि-म्वड् *naḍ^{ar}i-mwand^u*, lotus-stalk-cake.

चामञ्ज-म्वड् *tsāmañ^ñ-mwand^u* (also written, चामञ्ज *tsāmañ-*), cheese-cake.

अद्रक्-म्वड् *adrak-mwand^u*, ginger-cake [apparently irregular].

The masculine form म्वड् *mond^u*, can, however, be used for grain cakes, thus

त्वम्ल-म्वड् *tōm^{al}-mond^u*, rice-cake, (त्वम्ल *tōmul*, rice).

अब-म्वड् *ab^a-mond^u*, a cake of parched meal.

Bahu-vrīhi or relative compounds are similarly formed. When formed of an adjective and a substantive, the adjective is usually put last (iii. 13). Examples are

यड-बड् *yad^a-baḍ^u* (not यड्-बड् *yad^u-baḍ^u*, as we might expect), big-bellied, Skr. *brhad-udara*, quasi *udara-brhat*.

दारि-ज्युठ् *dāri-zyūṭh^u*, long (ज्युठ् *zyūṭh^u*) bearded (दार् *dār^u*, fem., a beard).

कन-चट् *kan^a-tsoṭ^u* having the ear (कन् *kan*, masc.) cut (चट् *tsoṭ^u*).

हृन्-बुथ् *hūnⁱ-buth^u*, dog (हृन् *hūn^u*, a dog) faced (बुथ् *buth^u*, a face).

When one member of the compound is a numeral, it is put first, thus

दु-वहर् *du-wahar^u*, occurring every two years.

सत-बोचु *sat^a-bōṭ^u*, having a family of seven.

पाँच-घतुर् *pāñ^a-potur*, having five sons.

Alliterative compounds (which are always feminine) are also classed as *bahu-vrīhis* by Īṣvara-kaula (iii. 14); thus

झल-झल् *ṭhōl^a-ṭhōl*, mutual pushing with horns.

टप-टफ् *ṭap^a-ṭāph*, mutual kicking.

ठूक ठूख् *ṭhūk^a-ṭhūkh*, mutual pushing with horns.

चप-चफ् *cap^a-cāph*, tooth against tooth.

When an adjective is used as an adverb, its form is not changed (v. 5). It stands in the masculine singular.

Thus,—

गवबु गवबु चुह् पकान् *gob^u gob^u chuh pakān*, he is going slowly.

चतुर (or चतुर् चतुर्) खवान चुह् *tsatur* (or *tsatur tsatur*) *khyawān chuh*, he is eating quickly.

ल्वतु करान् चुह् *lot^u karān chuh*, he is doing slowly.

F. Numerals.

The following are the Kāçmīrī numerals from one to ten millions, as written down for me by my Paṇḍit. They differ in several respects from those given by Wade.

CARDINALS.

- 1 अक् *ākḥ*.
- 2 ज्ह् *z^h*.
- 3 त्रिह् *trih* or त्र्यह् *trēh*.
- 4 चोर् *tsōr*.
- 5 पाञ्च *pānts* or पान्च *pānts*.
- 6 षह् *ṣah*.
- 7 सथ् *sāth*.
- 8 ऐठ् *aiṭh*.
- 9 नव् *nav*.
- 10 दह् *dah*.
- 11 काह् *kāh*.
- 12 बाह् *bāh*.
- 13 त्रुवाह् *truwāh*.
- 14 चदाह् *tsödāh*.
- 15 पन्दाह् *pandāh*.

ORDINALS.

- अक्युम् *akyum^u* or गवडङ्गुक *gōḍaṅṅuk^u*.
- द्वयुम् *dōyum^u*.
- त्रयुम् *trēyum^u*.
- चतुर्धुम् *tsūryum^u*.
- पञ्चयुम् *pūntsyum^u*.
- षयुम् *ṣayum^u*.
- सत्युम् *satyum^u*.
- ऐथ्युम् *aiṭhyum^u*.
- नव्युम् *navyum^u*.
- दह्युम् *dahyum^u*.
- काह्युम् *kāhyum^u*.
- बाह्युम् *bāhyum^u*.
- त्रुवाह्युम् *truwāhyum^u*.
- चदाह्युम् *tsödāhyum^u*.
- पन्दाह्युम् *pandāhyum^u*.

16	पुराद् <i>ṣurāh</i> .	पुराद्द्युम् <i>ṣurāhyum^u</i> .
17	सदाद् <i>sadāh</i> .	सदाद्द्युम् <i>sadāhyum^u</i> .
18	अरदाद् <i>aradāh</i> .	अरदाद्द्युम् <i>aradāhyum^u</i> .
19	कुनवुद् <i>kunawuh</i> .	कुनवुद्द्युम् <i>kunawuhyum^u</i> .
20	वुद् <i>wuh</i> .	वुद्द्युम् <i>wuhyum^u</i> .
21	अकवुद् <i>akawuh</i> .	अकवुद्द्युम् <i>akawuhyum^u</i> .
22	ज्तोवुद् <i>z^atōwuh</i> .	ज्तोवुद्द्युम् <i>z^atōwuhyum^u</i> .
23	त्रवुद् <i>trēwuh</i> .	त्रवुद्द्युम् <i>trēwuhyum^u</i> .
24	चवुद् <i>tsōwuh</i> .	चवुद्द्युम् <i>tsōwuhyum^u</i> .
25	पून्चद् <i>pūnts^uh</i> .	पून्चद्द्युम् <i>pūnts^uhyum^u</i> .
26	षवुद् <i>ṣawuh</i> .	षवुद्द्युम् <i>ṣawuhyum^u</i> .
27	सतोवुद् <i>satōwuh</i> .	सतोवुद्द्युम् <i>satōwuhyum^u</i> .
28	ऐठोवुद् <i>aiṭhōwuh</i> .	ऐठोवुद्द्युम् <i>aiṭhōwuhyum^u</i> .
29	कुनत्रद् <i>kunatr^ah</i> .	कुनत्रद्द्युम् <i>kunatr^ahyum^u</i> .
30	त्रद् <i>tr^ah</i> .	त्रद्द्युम् <i>tr^ahyum^u</i> .
31	अकत्रद् <i>akatr^ah</i> .	अकत्रद्द्युम् <i>akatr^ahyum^u</i> .
32	द्वयत्रद् <i>dōyatr^ah</i> .	द्वयत्रद्द्युम् <i>dōyatr^ahyum^u</i> .
33	त्ययत्रद् <i>tēyatr^ah</i> .	त्ययत्रद्द्युम् <i>tēyatr^ahyum^u</i> .
34	चयत्रद् <i>tsōyatr^ah</i> .	चयत्रद्द्युम् <i>tsōyatr^ahyum^u</i> .
35	पान्चत्रद् <i>pāntsatr^ah</i> or पान्चत्रद् <i>pāntsatr^ah</i> .	पान्चत्रद्द्युम् <i>pāntsatr^ahyum^u</i> .
36	षयत्रद् <i>ṣayatr^ah</i> .	षयत्रद्द्युम् <i>ṣayatr^ahyum^u</i> .
37	सतत्रद् <i>satatr^ah</i> .	सतत्रद्द्युम् <i>satatr^ahyum^u</i> .
38	अरत्रद् <i>aratr^ah</i> .	अरत्रद्द्युम् <i>aratr^ahyum^u</i> .
39	कुनताजिद् <i>kunatājih</i> .	कुनताजिद्द्युम् <i>kunatājihyum^u</i> .
40	चतजिद् <i>tsatajih</i> .	चतजिद्द्युम् <i>tsatajihyum^u</i> .

41 अकताजिह् <i>akatājih.</i>	अकताजिह्युम् <i>akatājⁱhyum^u.</i> ¹
42 दयताजिह् <i>dōyatājih.</i>	दयताजिह्युम् <i>dōyatājⁱhyum^u.</i>
43 त्ययताजिह् <i>tēyatājih.</i>	त्ययताजिह्युम् <i>teyatājⁱhyum^u.</i>
44 चयताजिह् <i>tsōyatājih.</i>	चयताजिह्युम् <i>tsōyatājⁱhyum^u.</i>
45 पान्चताजिह् <i>pāntsātājih.</i>	पान्चताजिह्युम् <i>pāntsātājⁱhyum^u.</i>
46 षयताजिह् <i>ṣayatājih.</i>	षयताजिह्युम् <i>ṣayatājⁱhyum^u.</i>
47 सतताजिह् <i>satatājih.</i>	सतताजिह्युम् <i>satatājⁱhyum^u.</i>
48 अरताजिह् <i>aratājih.</i>	अरताजिह्युम् <i>aratājⁱhyum^u.</i>
49 कुनवज्जाह् <i>kunawanzāh.</i>	कुनवज्जाह्युम् <i>kunawanzāhyum^u.</i>
50 पन्चाह् <i>pantsāh.</i>	पन्चाह्युम् <i>pantsāhyum^u.</i>
51 अकवज्जाह् <i>akawanzāh.</i>	अकवज्जाह्युम् <i>akawanzāhyum^u.</i>
52 द्ववज्जाह् <i>dōwanzāh.</i>	द्ववज्जाह्युम् <i>dōwanzāhyum^u.</i>
53 त्रवज्जाह् <i>tr^awanzāh.</i>	त्रवज्जाह्युम् <i>tr^awanzāhyum^u.</i>
54 चवज्जाह् <i>tsōwanzāh.</i>	चवज्जाह्युम् <i>tsōwanzāhyum^u.</i>
55 पान्चवज्जाह् <i>pāntsawanzāh.</i>	पान्चवज्जाह्युम् <i>pāntsawanzāhyum^u.</i>
56 षवज्जाह् <i>ṣawanzāh.</i>	षवज्जाह्युम् <i>ṣawanzāhyum^u.</i>
57 सतवज्जाह् <i>satawanzāh.</i>	सतवज्जाह्युम् <i>satawanzāhyum^u.</i>
58 अरवज्जाह् <i>arawanzāh.</i>	अरवज्जाह्युम् <i>arawanzāhyum^u.</i>
59 कुनहैठ् <i>kunahaiṭh.</i>	कुनहैथुम् <i>kunahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
60 शैठ् <i>ṣaiṭh</i> or शेट् <i>ṣēṭh.</i>	शैथुम् <i>ṣiṭhyum^u.</i>
61 अकहैठ् <i>akahaiṭh.</i> ²	अकहैथुम् <i>akahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
62 द्वहैठ् <i>dōhaiṭh.</i>	द्वहैथुम् <i>dōhaiṭhyum^u.</i>
63 त्रहैठ् <i>tr^ahaiṭh.</i>	त्रहैथुम् <i>tr^ahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
64 चहैठ् <i>tsōhaiṭh.</i>	चहैथुम् <i>tsōhaiṭhyum^u.</i>
65 पान्चहैठ् <i>pāntsahaiṭh.</i>	पान्चहैथुम् <i>pāntsahaiṭhyum^u.</i>

1 Sometimes pronounced *akatājy^um^u*, and so throughout the forties; except forty-nine.

2 Also pronounced *akahāṭh*, *akahāṭhyum^u*, and so throughout the sixties, except sixty-nine.

66 ष्चैठ् <i>ṣ^ahaiṭh.</i>	ष्चैद्युम् <i>ṣ^ahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
67 सतचैठ् <i>satahaiṭh.</i>	सतचैद्युम् <i>satahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
68 अरचैठ् <i>araiṭh.</i>	अरचैद्युम् <i>araiṭhyum^u.</i>
69 कुनसतथ् <i>kunasatāth.</i>	कुनसतत्युम् <i>kunasatatyum^u.</i>
70 सतथ् <i>satāth.</i>	सतत्युम् <i>satatyum^u.</i>
71 अकसतथ् <i>akasadāth.</i>	अकसतत्युम् <i>akasadatyum^u.</i>
72 दुसतथ् <i>dusadāth.¹</i>	दुसतत्युम् <i>dusadatyum^u.</i>
73 त्रसतथ् <i>tr^asatāth.</i>	त्रसतत्युम् <i>tr^asatatyum^u.</i>
74 चसतथ् <i>tsōsatāth.</i>	चसतत्युम् <i>tsōsatatyum^u.</i>
75 पान्चसतथ् <i>pāntśasadāth.</i>	पान्चसतत्युम् <i>pāntśasatatyum^u.</i>
76 षसतथ् <i>ṣ^asatāth.</i>	षसतत्युम् <i>ṣ^asatatyum^u.</i>
77 सतसतथ् <i>satasatāth.</i>	सतसतत्युम् <i>satasatatyum^u.</i>
78 अरसतथ् <i>arasatāth.</i>	अरसतत्युम् <i>arasatatyum^u.</i>
79 कुनशीथ् <i>kunaçīth.</i>	कुनशीत्युम् <i>kunaçītyum^u.</i>
80 शीथ् <i>çīth.</i>	शीत्युम् <i>çītyum^u.</i>
81 अकशीथ् <i>akaçīth.</i>	अकशीत्युम् <i>akaçītyum^u.</i>
82 द्वयशीथ् <i>dōyaçīth.</i>	द्वयशीत्युम् <i>dōyaçītyum^u.</i>
83 त्रयशीथ् <i>trēyaçīth.</i>	त्रयशीत्युम् <i>trēyaçītyum^u.</i>
84 चयशीथ् <i>tsōyaçīth.</i>	चयशीत्युम् <i>tsōyaçītyum^u.</i>
85 पान्चशीथ् <i>pāntśaçīth.</i>	पान्चशीत्युम् <i>pāntśaçītyum^u.</i>
86 षयशीथ् <i>ṣayaçīth.</i>	षयशीत्युम् <i>ṣayaçītyum^u.</i>
87 सतशीथ् <i>sataçīth.</i>	सतशीत्युम् <i>sataçītyum^u.</i>
88 अरशीथ् <i>araçīth.</i>	अरशीत्युम् <i>araçītyum^u.</i>
89 कुननमथ् <i>kunanamāth.</i>	कुननमत्युम् <i>kunanamatyum^u.</i>
90 नमथ् <i>namāth.</i>	नमत्युम् <i>namatyum^u.</i>
91 अकनमथ् <i>akanamāth.</i>	अकनमत्युम् <i>akanamatyum^u.</i>

¹ Not दसतथ् *dōsatāth*, as we might expect.

92 दुनमथ् <i>dunamāth</i> . ¹	दुनमत्युम् <i>dunamatyum</i> ^u .
93 त्रनमथ् <i>tr^anamāth</i> .	त्रनमत्युम् <i>tr^anamatyum</i> ^u .
94 त्सनमथ् <i>tsōnamāth</i> .	त्सनमत्युम् <i>tsōnamatyum</i> ^u .
95 पान्त्सनमथ् <i>pānt^ssanamāth</i> .	पान्त्सनमत्युम् <i>pānt^ssanamatyum</i> ^u .
96 षनमथ् <i>ṣ^anamāth</i> .	षनमत्युम् <i>ṣ^anamatyum</i> ^u .
97 सतनमथ् <i>satanamāth</i> .	सतनमत्युम् <i>satanamatyum</i> ^u .
98 अरनमथ् <i>aranamāth</i> .	अरनमत्युम् <i>aranamatyum</i> ^u .
99 नमानमथ् <i>namānamāth</i> .	नमानमत्युम् <i>namānamatyum</i> ^u .
100 हथ् <i>hāth</i> .	हत्युम् <i>hatyum</i> ^u .
101 अक्हथ् त अक् <i>ākḥ hāth t^a ākh</i> , and so on.	अक्हथ् त अक्युम् <i>ākḥ hāth t^a akyum</i> ^u and so on.
110 अक्हथ् त दह् <i>ākḥ hāth t^a dah</i> , and so on.	अक् हथ् त द्युम् <i>ākḥ hāth t^a dahyum</i> ^u and so on.
200 ज्हथ् <i>z^ah hāth</i> .	डुहत्युम् <i>duhatyum</i> ^u .
300 त्रिहथ् <i>trihāth</i> .	त्रहत्युम् <i>tr^ahatyum</i> ^u .
400 चोर्हथ् <i>tsōr hāth</i> .	चहत्युम् <i>tsuhatyum</i> ^u .
500 पान्त्हथ् <i>pānt^s hāth</i> .	पान्त्हथ्युम् <i>pānt^sahatyum</i> ^u .
600 षहथ् <i>ṣahāth</i> .	षहत्युम् <i>ṣahatyum</i> ^u .
700 सथ् हथ् <i>sāth hāth</i> .	सतहत्युम् <i>satahatyum</i> ^u .
800 ऐठ् हथ् <i>aiṭh hāth</i> .	ऐठहत्युम् <i>aiṭhahatyum</i> ^u .
900 नव् णथ् <i>nav ṣāth</i> .	नवणत्युम् <i>navāṣatyum</i> ^u .
1000 सास् <i>sās</i> .	सास्युम् <i>sāsyum</i> ^u .
10000 अय्वथ् <i>ayōth</i> .	अय्वत्युम् <i>ayōtyum</i> ^u .
100000 लह् <i>lāch</i> .	लह्युम् <i>lāchyum</i> ^u .
1,000,000 प्रय्वथ् <i>prayōth</i> .	प्रय्वत्युम् <i>prayōtyum</i> ^u .
10,000,000 करोर् <i>kōrōr</i> .	करोर्युम् <i>kōrōryum</i> ^u .

अक् *ākḥ* is one : अखाह् *akhāh*, or अखाह् खण्डा *akhāh khaṇḍā* means 'some one,' or 'about one,' (ii, iii. 38, 45).

¹ Not दनमथ् *dōnamāth*, as we might expect.

अख् *ākḥ* is thus declined.

Nom. अख् *ākḥ*.

Acc. अकिस् *akis*.

Gen. अक्युक् *akyuk^u*, or अकि सन्दु *akⁱ sandu^u*.

Ag. अकि *akⁱ*.

अखाह् *akhāh* is only used in the nominative (ii. iii. 38).

अकुय् *aku-y*, fem. अकूय् *akū-y*, is 'only one.' So also कुनु *kun^u*, fem.

कुञ् *kuñ*, means 'only one' (iv. 191).

जह् *z^ah*, two, becomes द्व् *dw* in all cases except the nom. pl., and is thus declined (ii. iii. 32, 33).

	Sg. (a pair).	Pl. (two).
Nom.	(जोर <i>jōr^a</i>).	जह् <i>z^ah</i> .
Acc.	(जोरस् <i>jōras</i>).	द्वन् <i>dwan</i> .
Ag.	(जोरन् <i>jōran</i>).	द्वयौ <i>dwayau</i> .
Instr.	द्वयि स्ततिन् <i>dwayi sūtin</i> (जोर स्ततिन् <i>jōr^a sūtin</i>).	द्वयौ स्ततिन् <i>dwayau sūtin</i> .

जोराह् *jōrāh*, 'any pair,' 'some pair,' or 'about two,' is declined in the plural. Thus जोराहौ स्ततिन् *jōrāhau sūtin* (ii. iii. 38). जोराह् खण्डा *jōrāh khaṇḍa*, means 'about two, but a little less' (ii. iii. 45). जय् *z^a-y*, means 'only two.'

There are two words signifying 'a pair,' (iv. 192). These are हर् *har^u* (pl. हरि *harⁱ*) and जोर *jōr^a* or जूरि *jūrⁱ*.

हर् *har^u* is generally used of things without life; thus,—

अज्यहर् *ājyēhar^u*, a pair of ear pendants.

दूरहर् *dūr^ahar^u*, a pair of ear rings.

वाल्लिहर् *wālⁱhar^u*, a pair of rings (वोलु *wōl^u*).

पुलहर् *pul^ahar^u*, a pair of grass sandals.

ख़ावहर् *khrāv^ahar^u*, a pair of wooden sandals.

अखहर् *ākhhar^u*, one pair; जहहर् *z^ahharⁱ*, two pairs;
त्रहहर् *trēhharⁱ*, three pairs.

In the villages we find the word हर् *hūrⁱ*. Thus दाँदहर् *dādahūrⁱ* a pair of bullocks. Here the word is used of a thing with life.

जोर *jōr^a* or जूरि *jūrⁱ* is used generally of things with life, but not always. Thus,—

मक्तजूरि *mōktajūrⁱ*, a pair of pearls.

दाँदजूरि *dāđajūrⁱ*, a pair of bullocks.

कोतरजूरि *kōtarjūrⁱ*, a pair of pigeons (कोतुर् *kōtur*, a pigeon).

गुरिजूरि *gurⁱjūrⁱ*, a pair of horses (गुर् *gur^a*, a horse).

अखजोर *akhjōr^a*, one pair; जहजोर *z^ahjōr^a*, two pairs; त्रहजोर *trēhjōr^a*, three pairs.

Note that जोर *jōr^a* and जूरि *jūrⁱ* are not interchangeable.

त्रिह् *trih*, three, is thus declined (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. त्रिह् *trih*.

Acc. त्र्यन् *tryan* (*trēn*).

Ag. त्र्यौ *trēyan*

The word तार *tār^a* is indefinite, and means 'about three.' त्रिय् *tri-y*, is 'only three' (ii. iii. 39).

'A group of three,' 'a trio,' is त्रिल *tril^a*, (masc.), or (iv. 192) त्रिच *tric^a* (fem.).

So also षह् *ṣah*, six (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. षह् *ṣah*.

Acc. षन् *ṣan*.

Ag. षयौ *ṣayan*.

'About six' is षखाह् *ṣakhāh*. 'Only six' is षय् *ṣa-y* (ii. iii. 42).

'A group of six' (iv. 192) षक *ṣak^a*. It is also षखाह् *ṣakhāh*, and

षखाह् खण्डा *ṣakhāh khaṇḍā* means 'a group of about six' (ii. iii. 42). The latter usually means a group of a little less than six.

चोर् *tsōr*, four, is thus declined (ii. iii. 35).

Nom. चोर् *tsōr*.

Acc. चोरन् *tsōran* or चन् *tsōn*.

Ag. चोरौ *tsōrau*.

चमर *tsōmar^a*, (ii. iii. 40), means 'about four,' and चोरय् *tsōra-y* is 'only four' (ii. iii. 40).

चाख् *tsākh* means 'a group of four,' 'a four' (iv. 192). चाखाह् *tsākhāh* means 'a group of about four, and चाखाह् खण्डा *tsākhāh khaṇḍā* means 'a group of a little less than four' (ii. iii. 45).

This numeral in composition becomes च् *tsō*. Thus (*vide post*) चशवय् *tsōṣaway*, even the four; चदाह् *tsōdāh*, fourteen: चबुह् *tsōwuh*, twenty-four, and so on.

The word for 'five' is पान्च् *pānts* or पान्च् *pānts*

Nom. पान्च् *pānts*.

Acc. पान्चन् *pāntsan*.

Ag. पान्चौ *pāṭsau*.

'About five' is पैश् *paĩṣ^a*, and 'only five' is पान्चय् *pāntsa-y* (ii. iii. 41). पञ्ज् *pañz^u* means 'a group of five' (iv. 192). पञ्जाह् खण्डा *pañzwāh khaṇḍā* means 'about five but a little less.'

For 'six,' see under 'three.'

The word for 'seven' is सय् *sāth*. It is thus declined —

Acc. सतन् *satan*.

Ag. सतौ *satau*.

'About seven' is सटेठ *saṭēṭh^a*. 'Only seven' is सतय् *sata-y* (ii. iii. 43).

सत् *sat^u* is a group of seven (iv. 192). सत्वाह् खण्डा *satvāh khaṇḍā* is 'about seven, but a little less.'

The declension and formation of the remaining numerals is regular.

‘About’ is signified by adding अमर *amar^a*, and ‘only’ by adding. अय् *ay* (ii. iii. 44).

Thus ऐठ् *aiṭh*, (acc. pl. ऐठन् *aiṭhan*); ‘about eight,’ ऐठमर *aiṭhamar^a*; ‘only eight,’ ऐठय् *aiṭha-y*. ऐठि *aiṭhⁱ*, is a group of eight (iv. 192).

ऊठि *ūṭhⁱ* (pl.) is groups of eight (e.g. four eights=thirty-two, चोर ऊठि द्वयन् *tsōr ūṭhⁱ dōyatr^ah*).

नव् *nav*, nine; नवमर *navamar^a*, about nine; नवय् *nava-y*, only nine.

नम् *nam^u* is a group of nine (iv. 192). नम्वाह् खण्डा *namwāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about nine, but a little less.

दह् *dah*, ten; दहमर *dahamar^a*, about ten; दहय् *daha-y*, only ten.

दह् *dah^u* is a group of ten (iv. 192), and दह्वाह् खण्डा *dahwāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about ten, but a little less.

हय् *hāth* is a hundred; हयाह् खण्डा *hāthāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about a hundred, but a little less.

The word for ‘fifty’ is पन्चाह् *pantṣāh*, the प *pa* of which becomes व *wa* in composition (iii. 10). Thus, अक-वज्राह् *aka-wanzāh*, fifty-one; द्व-वज्राह् *dō-wanzāh*, fifty-two; कुन-वज्राह् *kun^a-wanzāh*, forty-nine.

The word for ‘sixty’ is शेठ् *ṣēth* (iv, 176) or शेठ् *ṣaiṭh*, the श् *ṣ* of both of which becomes ह् *h* in composition (iii. 11). Thus कुन-हेठ् *kun^a-haith*, fifty-nine; द्व-हेठ् *dō-haith*, sixty-two.

हय् *hāth*; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition up to and including eight hundred (iv. 115); thus

अख्हय् *ākhhāth*, one hundred, ज्हहय् *z^ahhāth* two hundred, त्रिहय् *trihāth* (dropping ह् *h*), three hundred.

शय् *ṣāth*; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition after eight hundred (iv. 116); thus

नवशय् *navṣāth*, nine hundred; काह्शय् *kāhṣāth*, eleven hundred; बाह्शय् *bāhṣāth*, twelve hundred.

The following terms are peculiar to counting (iv. 174–177).

(a) टूक *tūk^u* means two pice.

(b) हथ् *hāth* means a pice, when more than two are referred to in counting. Thus, त्रिहथ् *trihāth*, three pice; चोर्हथ् *tsōrhāth*, four pice; पाँचहथ् *pāñts-hāth*, five pice. As in the case of numerals, हथ् *hāth*, becomes शथ् *çāth* from nine on. Thus;—नवशथ् *navçāth*. Ten pice are also called सास् *sās*, lit. a thousand.

(c) जनु *zan^u*, this is the word used in counting persons. Thus जनि पंचाहमर *zanⁱ pantsāhmara*, about fifty men. शेठ् जनि *çēth zanⁱ*, sixty men.

(d) लूख् *lūkh*. This word must be used in counting persons by hundreds or thousands. Thus हथ् लूक *hāth lūk^a*, a hundred people; जह्हथ् लूक *z^ahhāth lūk^a*, two hundred persons; त्रिहथ् लूक *trihāth lūk^a* three hundred people. We also sometimes, however, but rarely, have हथ् जनि *hāth zani*, a hundred people, सास् जनि *sās zani*, a thousand people, in both of which the *i* is fully pronounced.

When the emphatic य् *y* is added to numerals, we get the following forms—

दशवय् *dōçawa-y*, or दनवय् *dōnawa-y* even both.

त्रयवय् *trēçawa-y* or त्रयनवय् *tryanawa-y*, even all three.

चवय् *tsōçawa-y* or चनवय् *tsōnawa-y*, even all four.

पाँचवय् *pāñtsawa-y*, even all five.

षवय् *ṣaçawa-y* or षनवय् *ṣanawa-y*, even all six.

सतवय् *satawa-y*, even the seven.

ऐठवय् *aithawa-y*, even the eight.

नववय् *navawa-y* even the nine.

And so on.

The acc. is नववनी *navawanī*. The agent is नववयि *nawawayi*, and so for all, (iv. 186–188).

We may also say दशि दशवय् *dwaçⁱ dōçawa-y*; नवि नववय् *nawⁱ nawawa-y*, and so in all, repeating the first element, (iv. 189).

In multiplication, the numerals take special forms, as follows :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. अ॒कि क॒या ना॒म् <i>akⁱ kyā nām</i> . | 16. षु॒रा॒हि <i>ṣurāhⁱ</i> . |
| 2. द॒ग॒नि <i>dōganⁱ</i> . | 17. स॒दा॒हि <i>sadāhⁱ</i> . |
| 3. त्रा॒न <i>trān^a</i> . | 18. अ॒रा॒दा॒हि <i>aradāhⁱ</i> . |
| 4. चा॒ख् <i>tsākh</i> . | 19. कु॒नवु॒हि <i>kunawuhⁱ</i> . |
| 5. प॒ञ्जि <i>panzⁱ</i> . | 20. वु॒हि <i>wuhⁱ</i> . |
| 6. ष॒क <i>ṣak^a</i> . | 21. अ॒कवु॒हि <i>akawuhⁱ</i> . |
| 7. स॒ति <i>satⁱ</i> . | 30. त्र॒हि <i>trāhⁱ</i> . |
| 8. उ॒ठि <i>ūthⁱ</i> . | 31. अ॒कत्र॒हि <i>akatrāhⁱ</i> . |
| 9. न॒मि <i>namⁱ</i> . | 40. च॒तजि॒हि <i>tsatajihⁱ</i> . |
| 10. द॒हि <i>dahⁱ</i> . | 50. प॒न्चा॒हि <i>pantsāhⁱ</i> . |
| 11. का॒हि <i>kāhⁱ</i> . | 60. शै॒ठि <i>ṣīthⁱ</i> . |
| 12. बा॒हि <i>bāhⁱ</i> . | 70. स॒त॒ति <i>satātⁱ</i> . |
| 13. त्रु॒वा॒हि <i>truwāhⁱ</i> . | 80. शै॒ति <i>ṣīthⁱ</i> . |
| 14. च॒दा॒हि <i>tsōdāhⁱ</i> . | 90. न॒म॒ति <i>namātⁱ</i> . |
| 15. प॒न्दा॒हि <i>pandāhⁱ</i> . | 100. ह॒ति <i>hatⁱ</i> . |

They are used as follows :—

अ॒ख् अ॒कि क॒या ना॒म् अ॒ख् *ākh akⁱ kyā nām ākh*, one one (is) one.

ज॒ह् अ॒कि क॒या ना॒म् ज॒ह् *zāh akⁱ kyā nām zāh*, two ones (are) two.

त्रि॒ह् द॒ग॒नि ष॒ह् *trih dōganⁱ ṣah*, three twos (are) six.

स॒थ् ष॒क द॒य॒ता॒जि॒ह् *sāth ṣak^a dōyatājih*, seven sixes (are) forty-two.

These special forms may be called multiplicative numerals. Multiplicatives above ten can only be used with numerals above ten. Thus का॒ह् बा॒हि अ॒ख् ह॒थ् त॒ द॒य॒त्र॒ह् *kāh bāhⁱ ākh hāth t^a dōyatrāh*, eleven twelves (are) a hundred and thirty-two. We cannot say चो॒र् बा॒हि अ॒र॒ता॒जि॒ह् *tsōr bāhⁱ aratājih*, four twelves are forty-eight, because four is not greater than ten. We can only say बा॒ह् चा॒ख् अ॒र॒ता॒जि॒ह् *bāh tsākh aratājih*, twelve fours (are) forty-eight.

G. Pronouns.

These change their bases in Declension. The following paradigms will give sufficient information.

ब्वह् *bōh*, I.

Nom.	ब्वह् <i>bōh</i> (ii. iii. 8).	असि <i>asⁱ</i> (15).
Acc.	म्य <i>mě</i> (8).	अस्य <i>asě</i> (15).
Ag.	म्य <i>mě</i> (8, 9).	अस्य <i>asě</i> (15).
Gen.	म्योनु <i>myōn^u</i> (11).	सोनु <i>sōn^u</i> (19).

Genitive Forms.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Masc.	म्योनु <i>myōn^u</i> .	म्यानि <i>myānⁱ</i> .
Fem.	म्याञ्ज <i>myāñ^j</i> .	म्याञ्ज <i>myāñě</i> .

Similarly for the Plural.

त्सह् *ts^ah*, thou.

Nom.	त्सह् <i>ts^ah</i> (ii. iii. 8).	त्वहि <i>twahⁱ</i> (15).
Acc.	त्स <i>tsě</i> (8).	त्वह्य <i>tōhě</i> (15).
Ag.	त्स <i>tse</i> (8, 9).	त्वह्य <i>tōhě</i> (15).
Gen.	च्योनु <i>cyōn^u</i> (11).	तुहन्दु <i>tuhand^u</i> (18).

Genitive Forms.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Masc.	च्योनु <i>cyōn^u</i> .	च्यानि <i>cyānⁱ</i> .
Fem.	च्याञ्ज <i>cyāñ^j</i> .	च्याञ्ज <i>cyāñě</i> .

Similarly for the Plural.

तिह् *tih*, that (out of sight), he, she, it.

Nom. Masc. सुह् *suh* (ii. iii. 2); तिस् *tim* (16).

fem. सह् *sōh*, or स *sa*

(3); neut. तिह् *tih* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) तमिस् *tamis* तिमन् *timan* (16).

(5); तस् *tas* (20); neut.

तथ् *tāth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) तमि *tamⁱ* (5); f. तिमौ *timau* (16).

तमि *tami*.

Gen. (M. f.) तमि सन्दु *tamⁱ sandu^u*; तिहन्दु *tihand^u*; तिमन् हन्दु *timan hand^u*

sand^u; तसन्दु *tasand^u*; *timan hand^u* (16, 20).

तस् *tas* (20); (n.) तम्यकु

tamyuk^u.

This pronoun only refers to things not within sight. For things within sight ऊह् *huh* is used.

The neuter form agrees with all things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine. Thus तथ् पोथ्य परनस् कितु प्रङ्ग *tāth pōthē paranas kyut^u prang*, a couch for reading that book. So in the case of the other pronouns. The plural is the same for all three genders. So elsewhere.

यिह् *yih*, who.

Nom. Masc. युस् *yus* (ii. iii. 2); यिम् *yim* (16).

fem. य्वस्स *yōssa* (4);

neut. यिह् *yih* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) यमिस् *yēmis* यिमन् *yiman* (16).

(5); यस् *yas* (20),

neut. यथ् *yāth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) यमि *yamⁱ* (5); (f.) यिमौ *yiman* (16).

यमि *yami* (5).

Gen. (M. f.) यमि सन्दु *yamī sandu*; यिहन्दु *yihand^u*; यिमन् हन्दु *yiman hand^u* (16, 20).

(20); यस् *yas* (20); (n.)

यम्युकु *yemyuk^u*.

क्याह् *kyāh*, who, what ?

Nom. Masc. कुस् *kus* (ii. iii. 2); कम् *kam* (16).

fem. कस्स *kōss^a* (4);

neut. क्याह् *kyāh* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) कमिस् *(5)*; कमन् *kaman* (16).

कस् *kas* (20); (neut.)

कथ् *kāth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) कमि *kamī* (5); कमौ *kamau* (16).

(f.) कमि *kamī* (5).

Gen. (M. f.) कमि सन्दु *kamī sandu*; कहन्दु *kahand^u*; कमन् हन्दु *kaman hand^u* (16, 20).

कसन्दु *kasandu*;

कस् *kas* (20); n. कम्युकु

kamyuk^u.

इह् *yih*, this.

Nom. Masc. इह् *yih* (ii. iii. 2); इम *yim* (16).

fem. इह् *yih* (3); neut.

इह् *yih* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) इमिस् *yimis* (5); इमन् *yiman* (16).

(5); न्वमिस् *nōmis* (5);

neut. इथ् *yith* (7); न्वथ्

nōth (7).

Ag. (M. n.) इमि *yimⁱ* (5); इमौ *yimāu* (16).

न्वमि *nwamⁱ* (5); (f.)

इमि *yimi* (5); न्वमि
nomi (5).

Gen. (M. f.) इमि सन्दु *yimⁱ sand^u*; इहन्दु *yihand^u*; इमन् हन्दु
yiman hand^u (16, 20).
सन्दु *yisand^u* (20); न्वमि सन्दु *nwamⁱ sand^u*; (n.) इम्यकु *yim-
yuk^u*; न्वम्यकु *nömyuk^u*.

ऊह् *huh*, that (within sight).

Nom. Masc. ऊह् *huh* (ii. iii. 2); ऊम् *hum* (16).

fem. ऊह् *hōh* (3);

neut. ऊह् *huh* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) ऊमिस् *humis* ऊमन् *human* (16).

(5); अमिस् *amis* (6);

neut. ऊथ् *huth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) ऊमि *humⁱ* (5); ऊमौ *humau* (16).

अमि *amⁱ* (6); (f.)

ऊमि *humi* (5); अमि
ami (5).

Gen. (M. f.) ऊमि सन्दु *humⁱ sand^u*; ऊहन्दु *huhand^u*; ऊमन् हन्दु
human hand^u (16, 20).
अमि सन्दु *amⁱ sand^u*; ऊसन्दु *husand^u*;
असन्दु *asand^u* (20);
(n.) ऊम्यकु *humyuk^u*;
अम्यकु *amyuk^u*.

This pronoun only refers to things within sight. For things out of sight, तिह् *tih* is used.

The Reflexive Pronoun.

The word पान् *pān^a*, self, is declined only in the singular (ii. iii. 36). Its genitive is irregular (37). Thus,—

Nom.	पान् <i>pān^a</i> , self or selves.
Acc.	पानस् <i>pānas</i> , self or selves.
Gen.	पनुन् <i>panun^u</i> (fem. पनञ्ज् <i>panaññ</i>).
Ag.	पान् <i>pān^a</i> , by self or selves (NOT पानन् <i>pānan</i>).

[Example म्य पान् करम् *mě pān^a karu-m* by me, myself, it was done].

The word पान् *pān*, meaning the human body is declined regularly in both numbers, like a noun of the first declension. Its genitive is hence पानुकु *pānuk^u* (ii. iii. 36, 37).

Pronominal adjectives (ii. iii. 25–27).

यत् <i>yūt^u</i> , this much.	Fem. यच्च <i>yūts^ū</i> .
त्यूत् <i>tyūt^u</i> , that much.	त्यूच्च <i>tyūts^u</i> .
य्यूत् <i>yyūt^u</i> , how much.	य्यूच्च <i>yyūts^ū</i> .
कूत् <i>kūt^u</i> , how much.	कूच्च <i>kūts^ū</i> .

The declension of these is given under the head of nouns, see p. 55.

Indefinite Pronouns.

काँह् *kāh* or कूँह् *kūh* or काँह् *kāh* or काँह् *kāh* any one, some one, (m. and f.) (ii. iii. 29, 30, 31).

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom. कूँह् <i>kūh</i> काँह् <i>kāh</i> or काँह् <i>kāh</i> <i>kāts^hhāh</i> .	केन्च् <i>kēnts</i> .
Acc. कैँसि <i>kaṣi</i> .	केन्चन् <i>kēnts^an</i> .
Ag. कैँसि <i>kaisi</i> .	केन्चौ <i>kēnts^{au}</i> .

In the singular it is always declined like a feminine noun, even in the masculine.

कैँह् *kēts^hhāh*, means 'any thing' (ii. iii. 31).

It is not declined.

H. Emphatic and Indefinite Particles.

(ii. iii. 21 : iv. 126).

The particle *y* is added to all words to give emphasis. It may be added either to the main word or to the declensional or conjugational suffix. When added to a word ending in a consonant it becomes *ṡy*. Thus,—

तसन्दुय् <i>tasanduy</i> , even his,	from तसन्दु <i>tasand^u</i> , his.
तमि सन्दुय् <i>tamⁱ sanduy</i> , even his,	तमि सन्दु <i>tamⁱ sand^u</i> , his.
ग्वरसूय् अन्दर् <i>gōras^uy andar</i> , even in the preceptor.	ग्वरस् अन्दर् <i>gōras andar</i> , in the preceptor.
ग्वरनूय् अन्दर् <i>gōran^uy andar</i> , even in the preceptors.	ग्वरन् अन्दर् <i>gōran andar</i> in the preceptors.
ग्वरनूय् हन्दि पुष्ट् <i>gōran^uy handi putshy</i> , even to the preceptors.	ग्वरन् हन्दि पुष्ट् <i>gōran handi putshy</i> to the preceptors.
or	
ग्वरन् हन्दिप् पुष्ट् <i>gōran handiy putshy</i> or	
ग्वरन् हन्दि पुष्टिय् <i>gōran handi putshiy</i> .*	
गाटुलूय् <i>gāṭuluy</i> , certainly clever,	from गाटुलु <i>gāṭul^u</i> , clever.
करानूय् कुह् <i>karān^uy chuh</i> , he is certainly doing.	करान् कुह् <i>karān chuh</i> , he is doing.
कर्योनूय् <i>karyōn^uy</i> , he certainly did.	कर्योन् <i>karyōn</i> , he did.
करिय् <i>kariy</i> , he will certainly do.	करि <i>kari</i> , he will do.
तिथय् <i>tithay</i> , even in that manner.	तिथ <i>tith^a</i> in that manner.

The word सोस् *sōr^u*, all, always takes this suffix (ii. iii. 22).

Thus,—

Nom. sg. सोरूय् *sōrūy*; Nom. pl. सारिय् *sāriy*; instead of सोस् *sōr^u*
सारि *sārⁱ*, respectively.

* पुष्ट् *putshy* is really another way of writing पुष्टि *putshⁱ*.

When य् *y* is suffixed to the letter औ *au*, the two together become अवूय् *av̄y*, (ii. iii. 23).

Thus,—

गुर्यवूय् सूतिन् *guryav̄y sūtin*, by the horses certainly, from गुर्यौ सूतिन् *guryau sūtin*, by the horses.

नमवूय् सूतिन् *namav̄y sūtin*, even by the nails, from नमौ सूतिन् *namau sūtin*.

Indefiniteness is shown by adding आह् *āh* to a noun in the nom. sing. The termination cannot be added to other cases (ii. iii. 38).

कथाह् *kathāh*, any story, from कथ् *kāth*, a story ; अखाह् *akhāh*, some one, any one, from अक् *āk*, one ; जोराह् *jōrāh*, some pair or other, from जोर *jōrā*, a pair. The last may, however, be declined, thus जोराहौ सूतिन् *jōrāhau sūtin* by any pair.

When खण्डा *khaṇḍā* is added to these words, it indicates a slight diminution. Thus क्रुह् *kruh*, a *kōs* ; क्रुहाह् *kruhāh*, about a *kōs* ; क्रुहाह् खण्डा *kruhāh khaṇḍā*, about a *kōs*, but a little less ; so दहाह् खण्डा *dōhāh khaṇḍā*, about a day, but something less ; ऋथाह् खण्डा *ṛathāh khaṇḍā*, about a season but something less ; रुपयाह् खण्डा *rupayāh khaṇḍā*, about a rupee, but something less. The syllable आह् *āh* may be omitted, and then खण्ड् *khaṇḍ* not खण्डा *khaṇḍā* is used. Thus, क्रुह् खण्ड् *kruh khaṇḍ*, about a *kōs*, but a little less.

The suffix जू *z̄* added to a word signifies a group, or number. Thus, from कठ् *kāth*, rams, कठजू *kāṭaz̄*, a number of rams ; from गुरि *guri*, horses, गुरिजू *guriz̄*, a number of horses, a troop of horses ; from रुपय *rupayē*, rupees, रुपयजू *rupayēz̄*, a number of rupees ; कञ्ज *kañē* stones, कञ्जजू *kañēz̄*, a heap of stones (ii. iii. 46).

The word पद्धान् *pahān* qualifies the word which it follows (iv. 193). Thus,—

बड् पद्धान् *baḍ^u pahān*, somewhat big.

थड् पद्धान् *vyath^u pahān*, somewhat stout.

बुष्ण पद्धान् *wuṣun pahān*, somewhat hot.

दूर पद्धान् *dūr pahān*, somewhat distant.

न्यूर पद्धान् *nyūr pahān*, somewhat near.

ब्रौठ पद्धान् *brōṭh pahān*, somewhat in front.

पथ पद्धान् *pāth pahān*, somewhat behind.

चीरि पद्धान् *tsīrī pahān*, after some time (चेर *tsēr*, delay).

काश्मूर पद्धान् *kāṣur^u pahān*, somewhat Kashmirī.

बंगालुक पद्धान् *bangāluk^u pahān*, somewhat Bengali.

बुङ्गयुंद पद्धान् *wuhuryund^u pahān*, somewhat in that direction.

यङ्गयुंद पद्धान् *yahuryund^u pahān*, somewhat in this direction.

The following conjunctions are given by Īṣvara-kaula.

त *t^a*, and (iv. 178). *E.g.*, सुह त च्ह *suh t^a ts^ah*, he and thou.

ति *ti*, also (iv. 179). It is also used instead of त *t^a* with plurals.

Thus,—सुह ति च्ह ति *suh . ti ts^ah ti*, he also, you also. महनिवि ति गुपन् ति आय् *mahanivī ti gupan ti āy*, both the men and the cattle came. We cannot say महनिवि त गुपन् त आय् *mahanivī t^a gupan t^a āy*.

बिय *biy^a*, means, 'again.' It also means 'other,' (iv. 180). Thus, बिय किरिजि *biy^a karizi*, you should do it again. बिय वति *biya wati* by another road.

ज़न् *zan*, like (iv. 181). *E.g.*, तोत ज़न् कुह परान् *tōt^a zan chuh parān*, he reads like a parrot. मालिस् ज़न् कुह रछान् *mālis zan chuh rachān*, he protects him as if he (the object) was his father.

छुहु *hyuh^u* (also written हिहु *hih^u*), fem. हिण् *hiṣ^u*, means 'like,' (iv. 182, 183). *E.g.*, मालिस् छुहु *mālis hyuh^u*, like his father, (*e.g.*, this child is like his father). मोलु छुहु कुस् *mōl^u hyuh^u chu-s* (*s* is the dative pronominal suffix of the 3rd person), he is like a father to him. खन् छुहु कुह नापान् *sōn hyuh^u chuh nāpān*, it is shining like gold. We also have phrases like बुडु छुहु अनिज्यन् *bud^u hyuh^u anizyan*, bring whoever (amongst them) is old, ——— not, bring him like an old man.

I. On the Rhyming Repetition of words (*anuprāsa*).

Words of any kind are repeated to show indefiniteness or reciprocity. In such a case the letter व *w* or *v* प *p* is usually substituted in the second word, for the first letter of the original word (viii. i. 30). Thus,

करान् वरान् कुह् *karān warān chuh*, he is doing it or nearly doing it.

द्यार् वयार् अनिन् *dyār vyār anin*, let him bring the wealth, &c.

बत वत ख्ययिन् *bat^a wat^a khyayin*, let him eat rice, &c.

अन्वार् वन्वार *anwār wanwār* or अन्वार् पन्वार *anwār panwār*, turn and turn about.

If the main word begins with प *p* or व *v* or *w*, the second begins with व *v* or *w* or प *p* respectively (viii. i. 31). Thus,—

पर् वर् *par war*, read (imperative), &c.

पैस वैस दितिन् *paĩs^a waĩs^a ditin*, let him give pice and the like.

वाँगन् पाँगन् अन् *wāgan pāgan an*, bring brinjals and other like vegetables.

वाज़ पाज़ खिह् *wāz^a pāz^a chih*, they are cooks, &c.

The word व्युत् (विद्युत्) *vyuts^u*, a collection, makes व्युत् पोद्युत् *vyuts^u pōts^u*, an omnium gatherum.

There are irregular formations, such as (viii. i. 32).

न्युक् (निकु) सुक् *nyuk^u suk^u*, a collection. न्युक् *nyuk^u* means literally 'a little.'

म्यंङ् द्यंङ् *myaṇḍ^u tyāṇḍ^u*, mouthfuls, &c.

हल कल *haḷ^u kaḷ^u*, crooked, &c.; but

हल वल *haḷ^u waḷ^u*, girdles and the like.

हाञ्ज गाञ्ज *hānz^u gānz^u*, boatmen, &c.

फल फयत् *phaḷ^u phyaṭ^u*, ornaments, &c.

ओन्त वोन्त *ōnt^u wōnt^u*, shallow and the like.

These compounds are feminine when they denote reciprocity. For examples, see p. 71.

J. Forms of address.

Instead of a formal vocative case, Kāçmīrī uses a number of Interjections, each causing or not causing changes in the base of the noun with which they are used. The following is an abstract table showing the Interjections described by Īçvara-kaula, in the *Sambuddhi-pāda* (ii. 2) of his grammar. As a rule, before interjectional suffixes, *उ* *u-mātrā* and *क्* *ū-mātrā* are changed to *इ* *i* (or *य* *y*).

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
2	हे <i>hē</i> .	Respectful. By man to man.	नारान् <i>nārān</i> (N. P.)	हे नारान् <i>hē nārān</i> .
	हे <i>hē</i> —जुव् <i>juv</i> (or a caste-word instead of <i>juv</i>).		गण कौल् <i>gaṇa-kaul</i> (N P.)	हे नारान् जुव् <i>hē nārān juv</i> . हे गण कौल् <i>hē gaṇa-kaul</i> .
3	सौ <i>sā</i> may be added after any of the above.	Ditto.		हे नारान् सौ <i>hē nārān sā</i> . हे नारान् जुव् सौ <i>hē nārān juv sā</i> . हे राम कौल् सौ <i>hē rāma-kaul sā</i> .
4	हतसौ <i>hataśāhē</i> may be substituted for हे <i>hē</i> .	Ditto.		हतसौ <i>hataśāhē</i> नारान् जुव् <i>hataśāhē nārān juv</i> . हतसौ <i>hataśāhē</i> राम कौल् <i>hataśāhē rāma-kaul</i> . हतसौ <i>hataśāhē</i> नारान् जुव् सौ <i>hataśāhē nārān juv sā</i> .

Or हसहि <i>hasāhē</i> . With these, if neither जुव् <i>juv</i> nor any caste- word is used, then सि सā must be added.	नारान् <i>nārān</i> . In addressing a priest, a person of the mid- dle class, or a ser- vant.	हतसहि राम कौल सि <i>hataśāhē rāmā- kaul sā</i> . हसहि नारान् जुव् <i>hasāhē nārān juv</i> . हतसहि गण सि. <i>hataśāhē gaṇ sā</i> . हे नारान् बा हे <i>nārān bā</i> .
हसहि <i>hasāhē</i> or हतबाहि <i>hatabāhē</i> .	सहज <i>sahaz</i> (N. P.) जन <i>zan</i> (N. P.) If the above are old.	हतसहि सहज् बा <i>hataśāhē sahaṣ bā</i> . हतबाहि जन बा <i>hatabāhē zaṇ bā</i> . नाराना <i>nārānā</i> . नारान् जुवा <i>nārān juvā</i> .
—आ <i>ā</i> added either to the bare name or to the caste-word.	मान <i>mān</i> (N. P.) मान कौल <i>mān-kaul</i> . गुल <i>gul</i> (N. P.) In addressing male juniors or inferiors.	हता माना <i>hatā mānā</i> . हता मान कौला <i>hatā mān-kaulā</i> . हता गुल्या <i>hatā gulyā</i> (note the change of <i>u</i> to <i>y</i>). हा नारानो <i>hā nārānō</i> .
Or preceded by हता <i>hatā</i> .	Ditto.	
हा <i>hā</i> —ओ <i>ō</i> .	In addressing a per- son at a distance, or in sorrow.	हा काको <i>hā kākō</i> .

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
10	हतो <i>hatō</i> may be substituted for हा <i>hā</i> .	In addressing a person at a distance, or in sorrow.	पद् <i>paṛ</i> (N. P.)	हतो पद्ये <i>hatō paryō</i> (note vowel change).
11	—माज <i>māj</i> added to the bare name.	When a man addresses an elder woman.	पार्वत् <i>pārvat</i> (N. P.)	पार्वत् माज <i>pārvat māj</i> .
12	बिज् <i>biñ</i> .	When she is moderate in age, or of an age equal to that of the speaker.		पार्वत् बिज् <i>pārvat biñ</i> .
13	हतमाज <i>hatamāj</i> or हतबिज् <i>hatabiñ</i> may precede.	As in the two last.	सरस्वत् <i>saraswat</i> (N. P.)	हतमाज पार्वत् माज <i>hatamāj pārvat māj</i> . हतबिज् सरस्वत् बिज् <i>hatabiñ saraswat biñ</i> . हतबिज् पार्वत् माज <i>hatabiñ pārvat māj</i> .

14 } 15 }	हाय् <i>hāy</i> —य् <i>y</i> . हतय् <i>hatay</i> —य् <i>y</i> . हतौय् <i>hatāy</i> —य् <i>y</i> .	In addressing female juniors or inferiors.	वक्खु <i>watṣh^orū</i> , child.	हाय वक्खरिक् <i>hāy watṣhariy</i> (note change of vowel). हतय् वक्खरिक् <i>hatay watṣhariy</i> . हतौय् वक्खरिक् <i>hatāy watṣhariy</i> .
16 } 18 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —बा <i>bā</i> .	When a woman addresses a man or woman respectfully. More especially in addressing a priest.	हिमत् <i>himat</i> (N. P.)	हतबा हिमत् बा <i>hatabā himat bā</i> .
17 } 18 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —औ <i>au</i> . हतौ <i>hatau</i> —औ <i>au</i> .	Ditto, in addressing familiars or juniors (male or female).		हतबा काकौ <i>hatabā kākau</i> . हतौ काकौ <i>hatau kākau</i> . हतौ हिमत् कोलौ <i>hatau himat kōlau</i> .
19 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —अ <i>a</i> . हतौ <i>hatau</i> —अ <i>a</i> .	Ditto.	काक् <i>kāk</i> , a father. गण <i>gaṇ^o</i> , (N. P.)	हतबा काक <i>hatabā kāk^o</i> . हतौ गण <i>hatau gaṇ^o</i> .
20 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —अ बाय <i>a</i> <i>bāy^o</i> . हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —अ बायौ <i>a bayau</i> . हतौ <i>hatau</i> —अ	Used by women in addressing men or women by their proper names only,	महादेव् <i>mahādēv</i> (N. P.)	हतबा महादेव बाय <i>hatabā mahādēv^o bāy^o</i> . हतबा महादेव बायौ <i>hatabā mahādēv^o bāyau</i> .

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
21 } 25 }	बायौ <i>a bāyau.</i>	we cannot say हतबा काक बाय <i>hatabā</i> <i>kāka bāya</i> , O father.		हतौ महादेव बायौ <i>hatau mahādēv</i> <i>bāyau.</i>
	हतौव् <i>hatōv</i> —औ <i>au.</i>	Used by women in addressing a man or woman at a dis- tance. Also by Musalmān women in address- sing their husbands. Not by Brāhmaṇī women, who only use the following. Used by a Brāhmaṇī women when ad- dressing her hus- band, when she is	मनसा राम् <i>manasā rām</i> (N. P.)	हतौव् मनसा रामौ <i>hatōv manasā rāmau</i>
22			कादिर् <i>kādir.</i>	हतौव् कादिरौ <i>hatōv kādirau.</i>
23				
24	हत <i>hat</i> .			हत <i>hat</i> .

26	आहन् āhan.	alone with him, and she is near by. She does not mention his name. Merely uses the interjection.
27	ह ha.	Used affirmatively with verbs, with the above.
28		
30		
	आहन्सी āhansā. आहन्बा āhanbā. आहनो āhanō. आहन् मौज āhan mājū. आहन् बिज् āhan biñ. आहनिय् āhanīy. आहन् āhanū. आहनुव् āhanuv. आहन्सी करान् हसी कुह् āhansā karān hasā chuh, yes, Sir, he is doing. आहन्सी करन् हसी āhansā karu-n hasā, yes, Sir, he did do.	

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
29 न na.		Similarly used as a negative.		<p>आहंसो बत हसो कुह् रनान् āhansā bata hasā chuh ranān, yes, Sir, he is cooking rice.</p> <p>नबा करान् नबा कुह् nabā karān nabā chuh, no, Sir, he is not doing.</p> <p>आहंसो नारान् हसो कुह् पूयि परान् āhansā nārān hasā chuh pūthi parān yes, Sir, Nārāyaṇa is reading the book.</p> <p>आहन्बा राम हबा कुस् न्यन्द् करान् āhanbā Rām° habā chu-s° nēnd°, karān, yes, Sir, Rāma is having his sleep.</p>

Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla of Prāgjyōtiṣa in Āsām.—By

DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E.

(With Plates VIII–XIII).

[Read January, 1898.]

These two grants were also sent to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., one in May 1896, the other in April 1897.¹ The former was found in Suālkucī. About the find-place of the latter, nothing is known. It is now in the possession of a cultivator of Nāhorhābi village, Mauṛa Bargāō, District Darrang, Subdivision Tējpur, who says that it was discovered by his grandfather. As it is convenient to give it a name, and as Tējpur is already appropriated by another Āsām grant, published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, it may be called the Bargāon copper-plate.

The Suālkucī grant unfortunately is in a very bad condition as will be described hereafter. Without the Bargāon grant, with which most of its contents are identical, it would have been impossible to make any thing satisfactory of it. The Bargāon grant is in an almost perfect condition, and hence I will describe it first.

I. THE BARGĀON GRANT.

This grant and its seal are just like the Gauhaṭī grant of Indrapāla. This will be seen from the photograph (Plates VIII–X), so that I need not repeat their description. The plates, of which there are three, measure $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The seal measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The two outside plates are only inscribed on their inner sides. The interior plate has 20 lines on each side; the other two inscribed sides have 17 and 15 lines respectively.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. It differs from other grants, in giving a portion of the genealogy of the donor in prose. The earlier part of the genealogy, referring to Ratnapāla's ancestry, is in poetry, viz., from the beginning down to line 28. From here the

¹ See my papers on the previous Gauhaṭī and Nowgong Grants, in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 113, 285.

description of Ratnapāla's residence and person is in prose, down to line 52. The remainder is as usual: namely the description of the land, its perquisites and boundaries is in prose, viz., from line 52 down line 58, and lines 58 to 64; but the genealogy of the donee is in verse, from lines 65 to 72.

The composition is very laboured; and the fact that about one-half of the royal genealogy is in prose suggests that the writer's literary powers were not equal to the task of versifying the whole.

The mechanical execution of the grant is very slovenly and inaccurate; it is, in this respect, even worse than that of the Gauhaṭī grant. Syllables are frequently omitted; thus l. 1, *duṣṭē* for *nirduṣṭair*(?); l. 13, *kṣi* for *kṣiti*; l. 15, *khim* for *kṣitim*; l. 52, *Ratnapā* for *Ratnapāla*, etc. Similarly letters are omitted: e. g., l. 11, *anaya* for *anayad*; l. 22, *anurāgā* for *anurāgāj*. Occasionally superfluous syllables are inserted; e. g., l. 2, *anēkīnēbhavan* for *anēkī-bhavan*; l. 8, *kuṇḍalēna* for *kuṇḍalē*. Similarly a superfluous *l* is added in l. 14, *jayal-labdha* for *jāya-labdha*, l. 45, *udbhāsanal-lāṣō*, etc. Anusvāra and visarga are very frequently omitted; see the footnotes 4, 15, 18, etc. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged; e. g., l. 3, *tāt* for *tat*; l. 6, *ṣrīyam* for *ṣriyam*, etc. For other miscellaneous blunders, see footnotes 6, 12, 43, 49, 57, 67, etc. A curiosity is the euphonic insertion of *r* in l. 11, *nu-r-ihā*; and there is another instance in the Suālkucī grant, in l. 21, *mārttaṇḍa-r-iva*.

The usual provincialisms abound; for confusion of sibilants, see footnotes 16, 31, 34, 69, 85, 89, 91, etc.; for the ligature of guttural *y* with sibilants, see footnotes 34, 36, 42, etc.; for the ligature of dental *n* with gutturals and sibilants see footnotes 16, 18, 28, 29, etc.; for the ligature of *m* with *v*, see footnotes 13, 44, 65, 67, etc.

The last mentioned ligature is really explained by the fact that no separate sign for *b* is used in all these Āsām grants. And this fact, again, is explained by the circumstance that in Baṅgālī and Āsāmī no distinction is made, in pronunciation, between non-conjunct *v* and *b*; both are pronounced alike as *b*. There are other indications of a more sporadic occurrence of what may be called "phonetic spelling." They are curious, as showing how far back such fashions of pronunciation may be traced. In modern Baṅgālī and Āsāmī *kṣ* is pronounced *kh*. Hence we find in l. 15 *khim* (false for *khitim*) spelled for *kṣitim*, and in l. 17, *vīkhya* for *vīkṣya*. Similarly non-conjunct initial *y* is now pronounced *j*, and conjunct *y* is omitted. An instance of the former practice occurs in l. 21, *jā* for *yā*, l. 35, *jakṣmaṇā* for *yakṣmaṇā*, also in the Gauhaṭī grant II a¹ *jaṣās* for *yaṣās*. An instance of the latter practice occurs in the Nowgong grant in III a⁶ *Ḥāmāyikā*, the correct

spelling of which name *Çyāmāyikā* occurs in the Bargāon grant l. 61. Possibly the curious spelling in l. 18 *yuyyatē* for *yujyatē* may be due to a similar cause; so also the form *ya* in l. 50, for *ca*; though these would rather be survivals of an old prākritic fashion which has not survived to the present day.

Palæographically it may be noted that the avagraha occurs only four times, in ll. 26, 58, 59, 63, though there were sixteen other occasions for its use.

An *r* preceding a consonant is always formed above the line, even with *y*; e.g., l. 21, *āṣcaryam*.

The guttural nasal *ṇ* is, as in the Nowgong grant, throughout made without a ringlet; see ll. 3, 4, 14, 15, 17, 27, 33, 35, 41, 43, 60. The initial short *i* is also made exactly as in the Nowgong grant by means of two ringlets placed above a hook; e.g., in l. 35, *Tāika*; ll. 8 and 45, *iva*; l. 24, *iti*. Also *kh* and *r* are made after the older fashion. All this shows that the Bargāon grant cannot be very far apart, in age, from the Nowgong grant.

The anusvāra, in the Bargāon grant as well as in the Nowgong grant, is formed by a ringlet, placed (in the usual way) above the line. In the Gauhaṭī grant it is occasionally placed on the line.² In modern Bangālī the latter position is universal. This shows that the Gauhaṭī grant must be appreciably later than the Bargāon and Nowgong grants.

The virāma occurs twice to indicate a final consonant in l. 23, *samyak*, with the full form of *k*, and in l. 23, *mandam* with a slightly truncated form of *m*. In both cases it is attached to the foot of the letter. In the case of final *t*, *n* and *m* specially modified forms are used; thus the final form of *t* occurs in l. 5, *jagat*, l. 7, *akārṣīt*, and l. 63, *'ghāt*. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 54, *jānapadān* and l. 55, *prabhṛtīn* and *sarvvān*. The final form of *m* occurs in l. 2, *tāṇḍavīm*, l. 16, *rājyam*, l. 32, *maṇḍalam*, l. 33, *alaykāram*, l. 39, *sārthānām*, l. 48, *gambhīryam* and *vīryam*, l. 65 *ātmanam* and *ālyām*, ll. 69 and 72, *ālyām*.

As these final forms, as well as the forms of the guttural nasal, anusvāra and *r*, are peculiarly serviceable as test-letters in determining the chronology of the Bangālī-Āsāmī script, I have, in the accompanying lithographed table of facsimiles (Plate XI), prepared a small conspectus of them. The reigns I have selected are the following:

- (a) Pāla kings of Bengal (Bihār): DHARMAPĀLA, c. 840–875 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII, Plate III. NĀRĀYAṆA PĀLA, c. 925–950 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLVII, Plates XXIV, XXV;

² The ringlet is so small that the blank core is sometimes almost invisible in the photograph, producing the appearance of a mere dot.

also facsimile of Badal inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 160.

(b) Āsām kings: BALAVARMAN, c. 975 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, Plates XXXV and XXXVI. Ratnapāla, c. 1010, facsimile of his grant in this volume, Plates VIII–X, XII and XIII. INDRAPĀLA, c. 1050, facsimile of his grant, in this *Journal*, LXVI, Plates III and IV. VAIDYĀDĒVA, c. 1142, facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Plates I–III, p. 351.

(c) Sēna kings of Bengal (Bihār); VIJAYA SĒNA, c. 1080 A.D., facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 308. LAKṢMAṆA SĒNA, c. 1126, facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, Plates I and II.

The table sufficiently explains itself; but I may point out that the special final forms of *t* and *n* have arisen from the practice of attaching the virāma to the top of the full or truncated forms, instead of appending it, in the usual fashion, to their foot; and that the special final form of *m* owes its origin to the contraction of the original square *m* into a small circle, to which the virāma was appended as a tail. Later on, this tail was separated, and thus the forms of *m* and the anusvāra become identical (No. 8 in columns 5 and 15), because in the meantime the anusvāra had assumed a tendency of standing below instead of above the head-line (No. 5, col. 5). At one time the forms of the truncated *n* and special final *m* approached so nearly as to lead to a confusion of them (compare No. 1, col. 12 with col. 15). Thus final *n* is used for final *m* twice in the Nowgong grant, see I *b*² *amalan* for *āmalam*, II *a*⁷ *yauvanan* for *yauvanam*. An earlier instance occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, line 57, *vasundharan* for *vasundharam*³; other instances are in the Lakṣmaṇa Sēna grant, Plate I, obverse, line 21, *layan* for *layam*; Plate II, reverse, line 21, *mantavyan* for *mantavyam*, line 22 *pālanīyan* for *pālanīyam*.

On palæographical grounds, therefore, I am disposed to place the two Ratnapāla grants in the earlier half of the 11th century A.D. (c. 1010–1050). The Nowgong grant I would place a little earlier, about 990 A.D., and the Indrapāla grant, a little later, about 1060 A.D. The Bargāon grant is not dated in any era; neither is the Suālkucī grant; but the former professes to have been issued in the 25th, and the latter in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

Putting together the information given by the Bargāon grant with that afforded by the Tējpur, Nowgong, and Gauhaṭī grants, it now

³ See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 250.

becomes possible to arrange a fairly connected dynastic history of Āsām. All the grants agree in beginning with Hari (Viṣṇu), his son Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, his younger brother Vajradatta. They further agree⁴ in stating that Vajradatta was succeeded by several members of his dynasty, after which Naraka's dynasty was displaced by Ḫāla Stambha, described in the Bargāon grant as a *Mlēccha*⁵ or 'foreign' conqueror. According to that grant, Ḫāla Stambha was succeeded by twenty other foreign kings, of whom Vigraba Stambha was the first, and Tyāga Simha the last; and the grant adds that after Tyāga Simha the ancient dynasty of Naraka was restored in the person of Brahma Pāla. Unfortunately the Tējpur grant is unsatisfactorily recorded in volume IX of this *Journal*, both with respect to the original text and its English translation. But this much seems to be clearly stated in it that a series of rulers, commencing with Ḫāla Stambha, ended with Ḫrī-Hariṣa, after which a king called Pralambha of Naraka's race succeeded to the throne. On the first view this would seem to show that Tyāga Simha and Ḫrī-Hariṣa were the same persons, and so also Brahma Pāla and Pralambha. The latter identification, of course, is impossible, because Brahma Pāla and Pralambha gave rise to two distinct dynasties, as the Bargāon and Nowgong grants show. But it is still possible that these two dynasties might have ruled contemporaneously, in different parts of the country, on Ḫāla Stambha's dynasty becoming extinct with Tyāga Simha *alias* Ḫrī-Hariṣa. This supposition would seem to derive some confirmation from the fact that the Bargāon and Gauhaṭi grants are given from the town of *Durjayā*, alias Prāggyōtiṣa, while the Nowgong grant is given from the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppēṣvara. Against this, however, is to be set the fact that Bala Varman (of the Nowgong grant) of the Harjara or Pralambha dynasty is also described on his seal as belonging to the dynasty of the kings of Prāggyōtiṣa, so that Prāggyōtiṣa would seem to have been the capital of his country, though he usually or occasionally resided in his "ancestral camp" Hārūppēṣvara. But the circumstance which most strongly makes against the identification of Tyāga Simha with Ḫrī-Hariṣa, is the palæography of the Nowgong grant. The author of that grant, Bala Varman, is the fourth in descent from Harjara, and the fifth in descent from Pralambha, *i.e.*, about 100 years after the commencement of his dynasty, while Ratna Pāla, the author of the Bargāon grant, is first in descent from Brahmapāla, *i.e.*, perhaps 20

⁴ Except the Gauhaṭi grant, which, however, allows an "undefined period."

⁵ The term *Mlēccha* indicates a Non-Hindū, though the name Ḫāla Stambha has a distinctly Hindu (Sanskrit) ring; so have the other names of his dynasty. They may be *birudas* or landatory names.

years after the beginning of his dynasty. It follows, therefore, that Bala Varman comes about 80 years after Ratna Pāla, and that palæographically the Nowgong grant should be later than the Bargāon grant. Their palæographic characters, however, indicate just the reverse. The identification of Tyāga Simha with Çri-Hariṣa, therefore, seems to me very doubtful; nor does it appear that there is any necessity for it. A more probable solution appears to me to be, that Çāla Stambha's dynasty ended with Çri-Hariṣa, and that it was succeeded by another foreign dynasty, which commenced with Pralambha and ended with Tyāga Simha, after whom the restoration of Naraka's dynasty, in the person of Brahma Pāla, took place. The Bargāon grant does not say that the 20 kings who followed Çāla Stambha were all of the same dynasty; on the other hand, twenty-one (including Çāla Stambha) is a sufficiently large number to accommodate two long dynasties. Moreover the Nowgong grant clearly indicates that a break or change of dynasty took place with Harjara (son of Pralambha).

Of Çāla Stambha's dynasty three other members are named: according to the Bargāon grant, Vighraha Stambha was the immediate successor (son?) of Çāla Stambha; and according to the Nowgong grant, there were two other members, named Pālaka and Vijaya, besides some more not named. It would seem that *Stambha* was the distinguishing name of this dynasty. The named members of it would be (1) Çāla Stambha, (2) Vighraha-Stambha, (3) Pālaka-Stambha, (4) Vijaya-Stambha, who were perhaps the first four of the dynasty; there were several others; the total number may have been ten, occupying a period from about 150 to 200 years.

Of Pralambha's dynasty, five other members, in direct filial succession, are named. According to the Tējpur grant, it would seem that Pralambha's son, by his wife Jivadā, was Harjara, whose son was Vanamāla. The Nowgong grant adds Jayamāla, Vīrabāhu and Bala Varman, being the son, grandson and great-grandson respectively of Vanamāla. These are the first six members of the dynasty. Their total number may well have been eleven, occupying again a period of about 150 to 200 years. And these eleven, together with the ten of the Çāla Stambha dynasty, would make up the series of twenty-one foreign kings, required by the Bargāon grant, antecedent to the restoration of the Pāla kings of Naraka's dynasty. There are two difficulties about this dynasty. The Tējpur grant seems to say distinctly that Pralambha belonged to Naraka's dynasty,⁶ and that

⁶ In verse 19 of the translation, Vanamāla, the son of Harjara, is also said to be "like the moon in the clear sky of the Naraka line." The original text has *kṣīti-tanaya-nṛpati-vamṣa* or 'the royal race of the son of the Earth.' Naraka is the "son of the Earth."

he was the father of Harjara. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant ignores Pralambha altogether, and commences the dynasty with Harjara. Nor is there any thing in the latter grant to connect him with Naraka's dynasty; on the contrary the non-Hindū sound of the name Harjara points to a foreigner. I am unable to suggest any satisfactory solution; but the weight of the evidence seems to me to be for both dynasties (Çāla Stambha's and Harjara's or Pralambha's) being those of foreign invaders, though they may have occasionally preferred a claim to belong to the ancient indigenous line of kings.

The Pāla dynasty distinctly put forward that claim in both the Bargāon and Gauhaṭi grants; though it may still remain a question whether the claim was well founded. I may here notice a correction. In the Gauhaṭi grant, Plate I, reverse, line 13, the puzzling name *Kaumra* should be *Bhauma* or 'Earth-born,' a name of Naraka. I may also notice, that the Bargāon grant distinctly states that Durjayā, which the Nowgong grant describes as a *nagarī* or 'townlet' and as the *vasati* or 'residence' of the king, received that name from Ratnapāla, who either founded it or made it into a fortified place, and fixed it as the residence of his dynasty. The fact that the Pāla kings resided in the fort of Durjayā, and the Harjara dynasty in the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppēçvara, while yet both dynasties called themselves "Lords of Prāggyōtiṣa," may perhaps justify the conclusion that in their time Prāggyōtiṣa, which was originally the name of a town, had become the name of a country.

Of Ratnapāla it is related that he came into hostile contact with the kings of Gurjara, Gaṇḍa, Kērala, and the Dekkan, and with the Bāhikas and Tāikas. Assuming that Ratnapāla's age has been rightly fixed at about 1010 to 1050 A.D., the king of Gurjara of that period would be the Western Cālukyan king Jayasimha III or Sōmēçvara I. By the Kērala king the Cōla Rājarāja is perhaps intended. The Gaṇḍa king may have been Mahipāla or Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. To whom the term "king of Dakṣiṇātya" or the Dekkan may refer, I do not know. The Bāhikas and Tāikas are generally taken to be Trans-Indus people, those of Balkh and the Tajiks. But, as will be seen from the next paragraph, the panegyrist probably only wished to parade his familiarity with Sanskrit literature, and further attempts at identification would be waste of labour.

There is again a curiosity to be noted in the Ratnapāla grants, similar to that in the Nowgong grant (see *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 288), the discovery of which is due to Dr. Th. Bloch, the Society's Honorary Philological Secretary. This is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations, from Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita*. The following passages,

or clauses, may be compared, the references being to Tukaram Javaji's Bombay edition of 1892 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press).

- (1). Bargāon Plate, line 34, *Gurjjar-ādhirāja-prajvārēṇa*, etc. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 132, *Hūṇa-hariṇa-kēsari Sindhu-rāja jvarō Gurjara-prajāgarō Gāndhār-ādhipa - gandha - dvipa - kūṭa - pākalō Lāṭa-pāṭava-pāṭaccarō Mālava-lakṣmī-latā-paraçuḥ*.
- (2). Bargāon Plate, line 43, *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 104, *Vāsav-āvāsa iva (adhivāsaḥ)*.
- (3). Bargāon Plate, line 48, *Arjjunō yaçasi Bhīmasēnō yūdhī* (or Suālkucī Plate, l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣī*), &c. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 110, *Arjunō yaçasi Bhīṣmō dhanuṣī*, etc.

Finally, I may add three corrections in the Gauhaṭī grant. The blundered phrase *bhūmya-pakṣa-ṣṭa* in II b⁶ should be *bhūmy-apakṣṣṭa*, as in the Bargāon grant l. 53; it means the 'inferior or non-arable land.' Also *vyāvahārika* in II b⁷ means 'officer': the whole passage in which it occurs should be translated as in the Bargāon grant. Again the phrase *mahiṣī-jātika* should be read, as in the Suālkucī grant, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika* 'buffalos, goats and sheep.'

TEXT.¹

First Plate : Reverse.

- 1 Svasti | ² Duṣṭē ³ vapu-vimv(b)akair=n=nakha=gatai⁴ svai⁵=n=nṛtya-sampad-vidhēḥ sō sa-çvēva⁶-gatim çubhām prakatayan=dṛçyō 'ni-
- 2 çan=tāṇḍavim | ēvaṁ yaḥ paramātma-vat=prṭhu-guṇ-ōddēhō⁷ 'py=anēkī-nē⁸-bhavan=prākāmyan=dadhad=ēva bhāti bhuvan-ē-
- 3 ças=tāt⁹=çriyē Çaṅkaraḥ || [1 ||] Mūrta kim vahat=iha¹⁰ çīta-kara-ru kim¹² sphāṭikī-vidrutih kim¹³=v=ādy-augha-vibhēdan-ai-
- 4 ka-niratā çakti⁴ çubhā Çaṅkari | yasy=āpāṇ-gatim=ity=avētya janatā yāyēta dhanyā drutam pāyāt=sa praṇiha-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Çārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

³ One akṣara is here omitted; perhaps read *nirduṣṭair*.

⁴ Read *gataih*; l. 4, *çaktih*; l. 5, *ākrtēḥ*; l. 10, *çrīḥ* and *guṇaḥ*; l. 12, *yaçah*; l. 13, *ātmajaḥ* and *ripuḥ*; l. 14, *kīrttiḥ*.

⁵ Read *svair*.

⁶ Read *çvēta*. See note to translation.

⁷ *Uddēha* is not noted in any dictionary.

⁸ Read *anēkī-bhavan*; *nē* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *tat-çriyē* or rather *tac-chriyē*.

¹⁰ Read *iha*, m. c. (i.e., *vahati iha*).

¹² Read *kara-ruk=kim*.

¹³ Read *kim vā*.

- 5 tya sarvva-kaluṣaṁ lauhitya-sindhur=jagat || [2 ||] ¹⁴ Dharām Harēr=
uddharataḥ kir-ākṛtē ⁴ payōdhi-magnā Nārakō ¹⁵ 'sur-ānsa-
6 ka ¹⁶ | sa sūnur-āçit ¹⁷=sura-yōsid-anginī ¹⁸ çriyam ¹⁹=pratindūyitam ²⁰
=ēva yēna hi || [3 ||] Yaç ²¹=c=āval=ēti jarat=īti bhiyā-yut=ē-
7 ti mūdḥ=ēti v(b)andhu-rahit=ēti vipad-gat=ēti | hitv=Āditīs × ²² vaji-
tya surān=ahārṣit tat-ku-
8 ṇḍalēna ²³ sura-yaçō-mahaçī iv=āgryē | [4 ||] Kāntā-mukhair=
v=v(b)ahu-vidhāv ²⁴=iva vīra-vṛṇḍais=tējasvibhī
9 ravi-gaṇān=iva sandadhānē | Prāgjyōtisē ²⁵ 'vasad=asau pravarē
purāṇām dōr-dappa ²⁶-samcarāṇa-
10 cārutar-ārjjita-çri ⁴ || [5 ||] Yuddhē purātana it=iddha-guṇa ⁴ pit=
ēti yāvad=vicintya kṛpayā sa
11 cacāra mandam | tāvad=Dharis=tam=anaya ²⁷=divam=ātītānsōs ²⁸
=tējānsy ²⁹=ahō nu r ³⁰=iha nō gaṇan=ā-
12 sti v(b)andhau | [16 ||] Dhīras=tatas=tata-yaça ⁴-paṭa-guṇṭhi-āçō ³¹
yaç=c=āpir aktam=akarōd=bhuvanam guṇ-aughaiḥ | bhavyaḥ sa
bhūri-vibha-
13 vō Bhagadatta-nāmā tasy=ātmaja ⁴ kṣi ³²-dhurām v(b)ibharāñ=cakā-
ra || [7 ||] vajr=iva nirjjita-ripu ⁴ prṭhu-vajra-kāntiḥ sv-ōrjj-ārj-
javā-
14 rjjita-jagaj-jaya ³³-lav(b)dha-kīrtti ⁴ | rājyan=tad=āpa rucam=astam-
itē khar-āṇsau ³⁴ bhrātuh çikh=iva valavān=n=iha Vajra-dattaḥ

¹⁴ Metre: *Vaṁṣa-sthāvila*.

¹⁵ Read *magnām narakō*. Perhaps the intended reading was *magnān narakō*.

¹⁶ Read *āmçakakḥ*.

¹⁷ Read *āsīt*.

¹⁸ Read *ayginīm*.

¹⁹ Read *çriyam*.

²⁰ Perhaps read *pratindūyitam*, (i.e., *prati indūyitam*).

²¹ Metre of verses 4–8: *Vasanta-tilakā*; but the second half of verse 4 is out of order, its first pada having only 13, while its second pada has 15 instants.

²² This akṣara is illegible; there is also here one short instant wanting; perhaps read *Aditiṁ samavajitya*, or *Aditiçān=avajityā*.

²³ There is here one short instant in excess; read *kuṇḍalē*, omitting *na*.

²⁴ Read *vidhān*.

²⁵ Read *Prāgjyōtisē*.

²⁶ Read *darppa*.

²⁷ Read *anayaḍ*.

²⁸ Read *ātītāmsōs*.

²⁹ Read *tējāmsy*.

³⁰ Here *r* is inserted in order to avoid the hiatus *nu iha*.

³¹ Read *āmsō*.

³² Here one short akṣara is omitted. Read *kṣiti*.

³³ Read *jaya*, and below, l. 30, *luṇṭana*, and l. 45, *ōdbhāsana*; omitting *l*.

³⁴ Read *kharāmçau*.

- 15 || [8 ||] ³⁵ Ēvaṃ vaṇṇa ³⁶-kramēṇa khim ³⁷=atha nikhilāṃ bhuñjatā ³⁸
 nārakāṇāṃ rājñā ³³ mlēcch-ādhināthō vidhi-calana-vaṇṇa=ēva ja-
 16 grāha rājyam | **Çālastambha** ³⁹ kramē 'sy=āpi hi narapatayō
Vigrahastambha-mukhyā vikhyātā ³⁹ samv(b)abhūvur=dvi-guṇi
⁴⁰-daṇṭatā
 17 samkhyayā samvibhinnā ³⁹ || [9 ||] ⁴¹Nirvvaṇṇam ⁴² nṛpam=ēkaviṃ-
 satitamam ⁴² çri-Tyāga-simh-āsiddhan ⁴³=tēṣāṃ=vikhya ⁴⁴ divaṇ=
 gatam punar=a-

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 18 hō bhaumō hi nō yuyyatē ⁴⁵ [1] svām=iti ⁴⁶ pravacintya tat-prakṛtayō
 bhū-bhāra-rakṣā-kṣamam sāgandhyāt=paricakrivē narapa-
 19 ti ³⁹ çri-V(b)rahmapālam hi yam | [10 ||] Ēkō 'sau jītavān=ripun ⁴⁷=
 samiti bhō ki ³⁹ nāma citra ³⁹ nidam ⁴⁸ atr=ōdāharanam Harō Ha-
 20 ri=ahō Bhīṣm-ādayō 'nē ⁴⁹ pi hī | itham ⁵⁰ samparimṛṇya yasya hi
 bhaṭā sthāna-sthitasya dviṣāṃ dikṣv=aṣṭāsv=api vidra-
 21 vēṇa mahat=aṇḍacaryam ⁵¹=sadā mēnirē || [11 ||] ⁵² Vibhava-phala-
 vilās-āsvāda-jāt-ābhilāṣa ⁵³ sa yuvatim=upayēmē j ⁵⁴= ā-
 22 nurāgā ⁵⁵ janēṣu | avani-kula-samuttha ⁵⁶-kṣmāpa-samprātya ⁵⁷-lakṣ-
 myāḥ sthitam=iva kula-dēvī-nāmadhēyam=v(b)abhāra || [12 ||]

³⁵ Metre of verse 9 : *Sragdharā*.

³⁶ Read *vaṇṇa*.

³⁷ One short akṣara is wanting. Read *kṣitim*.

³⁸ Read *bhuñjatām* and *rājñām*.

³⁹ Read *Çālastambhaḥ*, and *vikhyātāḥ*; l. 17, *samvibhinnāḥ*; l. 19, *narapatim*, *kim* and *citraṃ*.

⁴⁰ One akṣara is wanting. Read *dviguṇita*.

⁴¹ Metre of verses 10 and 11 : *Çārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

⁴² Read *nirvvaṇṇam* and *ēkaviṃṣatitamam*.

⁴³ Read *ābhiddhan*.

⁴⁴ Read *tēṣām vikṣya*.

⁴⁵ Read *yuyyatē* or *yūyatē*.

⁴⁶ Read *svām=iti*.

⁴⁷ Read *ripun* or *ripūn*.

⁴⁸ Read *nidām* or *nvidam* (i.e., *nu idam*).

⁴⁹ Read *'nyē* (for *anyē*).

⁵⁰ Read *ittham*.

⁵¹ Read *āṇḍacaryam*.

⁵² Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁵³ Read *ābhilāṣaḥ*; l. 27, *ānubhāvāḥ*.

⁵⁴ Read *yā*.

⁵⁵ Read *nurāgāj* (i.e., *yā anurāgāj = janēṣu*).

⁵⁶ Read *samuttho*.

- 23 ⁶⁸ Ratn-ōpamā narapati ⁵⁹ sva-guṇair=m=mah-ārhan=yah pālayēd=
iti janair=avagamyā samyak | nītaḥ prasiddhim=iha tē-
24 na sa-kirttanēṇa ṣṛī-Ratnapāla iti sūnur=ajāyat=āsyām ⁶⁰ || [13 ||]
Durvvāra-vairi-kari-kumbha-bhidā-bhav-āsra-srōtō-va-
25 h-āhati-calat-kari-muktikābhiḥ [1] yad-yuddha-bhūr=v=vipaṇi-vad=
dhata-pādma-rāgī ṣṛbhōta ⁶¹
26 vīra-vaṇijā ⁶² nikarai ⁶² prakīrṇā || [14. ||] Simhāsanē 'thā ⁶³ Narak-
ānvaya-j-āv(b)ja-bhānu ⁶⁴ samvēṣya ⁶⁵
27 tām ⁶⁶ divam=agād=a-kalaṅka-gaṇḍaḥ | kāl-ōcitam vicaritam hi mah-
ānubhāvā ⁶⁸ samvidri-
28 tē ⁶⁷ hi guṇa-dōṣa-vidō bhavasya || [15] ⁶⁸ Niṣit-āsi-marici-mañjarī-
jaṭila-bhuja-v(b)ala-vi-
29 jita-narapati-sat ⁶⁹-ōpāyanī-kṛta-sa-mada-gaja-ghaṭa-kaṭa-syāndi ⁷⁰-
dān-ām v(b)u-ṣikar-āsā-
30 ra-samupaṣamita-santāpam sakal-āri-kaṭaka-luṇṭanal ³³-lampāṭa-su-
bhata-v(b)āhu-viṭap-āṭavi-
31 samkaṭam=api mahājana-nivāsa-yōgyam ⁶⁰ | sa-mada-sundarī-smita-
sudhā-dhavalita-saudha-ṣi-
32 khara-sahasr-ānta-hṛta ⁷¹-taraṇi-maṇḍalam | Malay-ācala-sthali ⁷²-
ruha-kānanam=iv=ānēka-bhōgi ⁷³-ṣata-sēvitam ⁶⁰ | nabhō-
33 vat=sēv-āvāpta-v(b)udha-guru-kāvya-ālaṅkāram | kailāsa-giri-ṣikha-
ram=iva paramēṣvar-ādhisthānam ⁶⁰ | Vittēṣa-nivēṣita-
34 ñ=ca | yac=ca Ṣaka-kṛdā-ṣaṇi ⁷⁴-dr̥ḍha-pañjarēṇa Gurjjar-ādhirāja-
prajārēṇa ⁷⁵ dur-d danta ⁷⁶-Gaudēndra-kari-kūṭa-pākalēna

⁶⁷ Read *samprāpya*.

⁶⁸ Metre of verses 13-15: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

⁶⁹ Read *ratnōpamō narapatiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶⁰ Read final *m* for *m̐*. Also read *ādhisthānam*.

⁶¹ Read *ṣṛbhēta*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶² Read *vaṇijām nikaraiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶³ Read *'tha*.

⁶⁴ Read *bhānum*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

⁶⁵ Read *samvēṣya*.

⁶⁶ Read *tām*.

⁶⁷ Read *samvidratē*.

⁶⁸ From here prose.

⁶⁹ Read *ṣat*.

⁷⁰ Read *syāndi*.

⁷¹ Probably read *antar-hita*.

⁷² Read *sthalī*.

⁷³ Read *bhōgi*.

⁷⁴ Read *ṣakuni*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁷⁵ Read *prajvārēṇa*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

⁷⁶ Read *dānta*.

- 35 Kēral-ēṣ-ācalā-ṣilājatunā V(b)āhika-Tāik-āttan̄ka⁷⁷-kāriṇā dākṣiṇā-
tya-kṣōṇi-pati-rājajanmaṇā⁷⁸ kṣa-
36 pit-ārāti-pakṣatayā kṣitipa-vakṣaḥ-kavāṭa-patēn=ēva prākārēṇ=
āvṛta-prāntham⁷⁹=unmada-kala-hansa⁸⁰-kāmini-ku-
37 la⁸¹-kuṇita-pēṣala-marun-mand-āndōlit-ōrm̄mi-ṣikarair=upaṣamit-
āpāvṛta-sandha-ṣikhar-ādhirūḍha-sundarī-sura-

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 38 t-ōtsav-āyāsēna kailāsa-kari-dukula⁸²-kadalikā-patē⁸³ nēka-nākēṣa-
kāmini-vibhrama-maṇi-darppanē-
39 na Lauhity-āmbhōdhinā virājamānam⁶⁰ | mānanīyam=anēka-**mana-**
ka⁸⁴-pati-sārthānam yathārth-ābhīdhānam
40 Prāgyōtiṣ-ēṣa⁸⁵-durjay-ākhyā-puram=adhyuvāsa | yatra ca jādātā
hāra-yaṣṭiṣu n=ēndriyēṣu cañcalatā hari-
41 ṣu na mānasēṣu bhāṅguratā bhruvi bhramēṣu na pratipannēṣu
s-ōpasarggatā dhātuṣu na prajāsu vāmatā kāmī-
42 niṣu skhalitam madhu-mada-mudita-kāmini-gatiṣu nisprhatā dōṣa-
kāriṣu niratyaya-madhu-pān-āṣaktir⁸⁶=m=ma-
43 dhu-kāra-kara⁸⁷-kulēṣu atyantam priy⁸⁸-ānuvarttanam rathāṅga-
nāmasu piṣit⁸⁹-ācitā ṣvāpadēṣu tatra Vāsap-āvā-
44 sa-sparddhini⁹⁰ vidhur=iva vivarddhita-ṣila-vēlā-jaladhi-maṇḍalāḥ
satru⁹¹-saras-ādarṣita-padm-āpahāraṣ=ca mārta-
45 ṇḍa iya bhū-bhṛc-chirō-nivēṣita-pādaḥ kamal-ākar-ōdbhāsanā⁹³-
lāṣaṣ⁹²=ca paramēṣva-

77 Read *bāhika-tāyik-ātan̄ka* or *bāhlika-tāyik-ātan̄ka*.

78 Read *yakṣmaṇā*.

79 Read *prāntam*.

80 Read *hansa*.

81 In the original *kula* is only just traceable, but in the Suālkucī grant it is distinct.

82 Read *dukūla*.

83 Probably read *patēn = anēka*.

84 Perhaps read *mānaka*.

85 Read *Prāgyōtiṣ-ēṣa*.

86 Read *āsaktir*. In the original the first *ā* of *pānāṣakti* is cancelled; but the real intention may have been to cancel the second *ā*; for *pāna-sakti* would give the same meaning.

87 Cancel *kara*.

88 Read *priy*.

89 Read *piṣit*.

90 Read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*.

91 Read *ṣatru*.

92 Read *lāṣaṣ*.

- 46 rō'pi Kāmarūp-ānandi⁹³ Bhaum-ānvayō 'py=ullāsita-dānav-āriḥ
puruṣ-ōttamō 'py=a-da-
- 47 nārddanō⁹⁴ vīrō 'pi mattēha⁹⁵-gāmī yasā⁹⁶ ca Manmath-ōnmāthi-
rūpaṁ tiraskṛt-āmbhōdhi-
- 48 gāmbhīryam jagad-vijay-āçansi⁹⁶-vīryam Skand-āskandi-vīryam.
yaç=c=Ārjunō yaçasi⁹⁷ Bhī-
- 49 masēnō yudhi Kṛtāntaḥ krudhi Dāvānalō vipakṣa-virudhi Çaçā-
dharō vidyā-nabhasi Ma-
- 50 lay-ānilaḥ su-janu-sumanasi Sūryō 'ri-tamasi Uday-ācalō mitr-ōd-
gama-sampadi ya⁹⁸ |
- 51 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çrī-V(b)rahmapāla-varmma-dēva-pād-ānudhyā-
ta-paramēçvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakō
- 52 mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ çrī-Ratnapā⁹⁹-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçalī || ❖ ||
Uttara-kūlē trayōdaça-grāma-viṣay-āntaḥpāti-Vā-
- 53 madēva-pātak-āpakṛṣṭa-bhūmi-samēta-lābu-kuṭi-kṣētrā¹⁰⁰ dhānya-
dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmau | yathāyatham samupasthi-
- 54 ta-v(b)rāhmaṇ-ādi-viṣaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapadān
rāja-rājñī-rāṇak-ādhikṛtān=anyān=api rā-
- 55 janaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtīn yathā-kāla-bhāvinō'pi
sarvvān mānanā=pūrvvakam¹⁰¹ samādiçati veditam=a-
- 56 [stu] bhavatām bhūmir=iyam¹⁰²=vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōpracār-
āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sim-ōddēça-paryantā
- 57 hasti-v(b)andha-naukā-v(b)andha-caur-ōddharaṇa-daṇḍa-pāç-ōpari-
kara-nānā-nivitt¹⁰³-ōtkhēṭana-hasty-açv-ōṣṭra-gō-mahiṣ-āj-āti-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 58 ka¹⁰⁴-pracāra-prabhṛtīnām¹⁰²=vinivārīta-sarvva-pīḍā çāsani-kṛtya |
Pārāsarō 'bhūd=bhuvi Dēvadattaḥ Kā-
- 59 nvō 'grajō Vājasanēyak-āgryaḥ | āsādya yam¹⁰²=vēda-vidām par-
ārdhayaṁ trayyā kṛt-ārthāyitam=ēva samya-

⁹³ Read *ānandī*.

⁹⁴ So also the *Suālkuci* grant ; but read *ajanārddanō*.

⁹⁵ Read *mattēbha*.

⁹⁶ Read *yaçya*.

⁹⁷ Read *āçansi* and *yaçasi*.

⁹⁸ Read *ca*. *Ya* may be a Prākṛit form, if it is not simply a clerical error.

⁹⁹ Read *Ratnapāla*.

¹⁰⁰ The reading is false ; perhaps read *kṣētrāyām*, agreeing with *bhūmau*.

¹⁰¹ Read *pūrvvakam*.

¹⁰² Read *iyam* ; l. 58, *prabhṛtīnām*, and l. 59, *yam*.

¹⁰³ Read *nivitt*.

¹⁰⁴ Read *āvika*, as in the *Suālkuci* grant.

- 60 k ॥ [1 ॥] Agny-āhitas=tasya v(b)abhūva sūnuḥ Sadgaṅgadattō ¹⁰⁵
 guṇa-çila-çālī [1] yaṁ vikṣya ṣaṭ-karma-rataṁ dvijēṣaṁ ¹⁰⁶
- 61 Bhṛgv-ādiṣu pratyayitō jan-aughaḥ ॥ [2] Çyāmāyikā tasya v(b)a-
 bhūva patnī pati-vratā çila-guṇ-ōpannā ¹⁰⁷ | ugrēndu-
- 62 lēkh=ēva virājatē yā viçuddha-rūpā tamasō nihantrīm ¹⁰⁸ ॥ [3 ॥]
 Āsyām ¹⁰⁹=abhūc=chāstra-vidām dhurīṇas=trastraḥ ¹¹⁰ su-
- 63 tō 'ghāt khalu Viradattaḥ | yaṁ prāpya dharm-āçrayam=ugra-
 v(b)uddhim kālaḥ kalir=nyak-kṛta-vad=v(b)abhūva ॥ [4 ॥] Saṁ-
 krāntau
- 64 Vipṇupadyāñ ¹¹¹=ca pañca-vimṣ-āv(b)da-rājyakē | tasmai dattā mayā
 pitrōr=yaçah-puṇyā-
- 65 ya c=ātmanam ¹¹² ॥ [5 ॥] Sīmā pūrvvēṇa vṛhad-ālyām çālmali-
 vṛkṣaḥ | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna rū-
- 66 ṣi-gaṇa-pāṭhi-nau-simni khara-tāṭa-stha-çālmali-vṛkṣaḥ ॥ dakṣiṇēna
 tan-nau-simni
- 67 v(b)adarī-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paçcimēna ta ¹¹³-nau-simni kāçimv(b)ala-
 vṛkṣaḥ | paçcimēna
- 68 khara-tāṭa-sth-āçvatha-vṛkṣaḥ | paçcima-ga | uttara-ga-vakrēṇa
 āli ¹¹⁴ | kāçimv(b)a-
- 69 lā ¹¹⁵-vṛkṣaḥ=ca | paçcim-ōttarēṇa kṣētr-ālyām hijjala-vṛkṣaḥ | pūrv-
 va-ga | uttara-ga-va-
- 70 krēṇa kṣētr-āli ¹¹⁴ | çālmali-vṛkṣau | punaḥ pūrvva-ga-dakṣiṇa-ga-
 vakrēṇa kṣētr-āli ¹¹⁴ | kāçimv(b)ala-vṛkṣau | ki-
- 71 ñ-cit-pūrvva-ga | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrēṇa kṣētr-āli ¹¹⁴ | çālmali-vṛkṣau |
 uttarēṇa vṛhad-ālyām kāçimv(b)ala-vṛ-
- 72 kṣaḥ | uttara-pūrvvēṇa vṛhad-ālyām vētasa-vṛkṣaḥ=c=ēti ॥

The Seal.

- 1 Svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipati-
 2 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-Ratna-
 3 pāla-varmma-dēvaḥ ॥

¹⁰⁵ Read *Sadgaṅgādattō*.

¹⁰⁶ Read *dvijēṣu*, the anusvāra is nearly obliterated. Perhaps it might also be intended for *dvijēṣaṁ*.

¹⁰⁷ Read *ōpāpannā*.

¹⁰⁸ Read *nihantrī*.

¹⁰⁹ Omit the anusvāra.

¹¹⁰ Read *trastaḥ*. The second *r*, however, appears to be slightly obliterated.

¹¹¹ Read *Viṣṇupadyāñ*.

¹¹² Read *ātmanah*.

¹¹³ Read *tan*.

¹¹⁴ Read either *āliḥ* or *ālī*. There is in the original plate a trace of the long *i* in line 11.

¹¹⁵ Read *kāçimbala*.

TRANSLATION.

(FIRST PLATE: line 1) Hail!

(Verse 1.) “He may be seen incessantly exhibiting his beautiful white figure,¹ in the Tāṇḍava (dance) according to the strict rules of that dance, (guided) by the stainless reflection of his body formed on his own nails: even thus does Ṣaṅkara (or Ṣiva), who, though like the Supreme Being he is endowed with the quality of omnipresence (lit., expansion), assumes numberless forms at his absolute will, shine forth as the Lord of the World for the sake of the welfare of that (world).

(2.) “What? Is it that here flows the light of the white rays (of the moon) in congelation, or a solution of crystals; or is it that the beautiful Ṣaṅkarī (or female counterpart of Ṣiva) and his Ṣakti (or energy) is intently engaged in marking quick-time music in its primeval form?”² It may be with such musings as these about the nature of its water that the happy population (of the country) quickly resorts to that river Lauhitya (or Brahmaputra), which by removing all sins protects the world.

(Verse 3.) Of Hari (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu) who, in the form of a boar, raised the earth when she had sunk beneath the ocean, Naraka of the Asura (or demon) race was the son, who acted the very part of the moon to the personal charms of the ladies of the Suras (or gods);³

(4.) Who, declaring Aditi to be a woman, weak, decrepit, timid, stupid, deserted by her kinsmen, and overtaken by misfortune, conquered the Suras, and snatched away her ear-rings which were precious as being typical of the glory of the Suras.

(5.) In Prāgjyōtiṣa, the best of towns, provided with brilliant troops of warriors like systems of suns, and lovely-faced women of many kinds, he took up his residence, after he had acquired prosperity, equal in pleasantness to the pride of his arms.

(6.) “I am grown too old (to engage) in war, and my father will gain a brilliant reputation,” bethinking himself thus, out of kindly consideration, he lived carelessly: so Hari removed him to heaven.

¹ The reading *sōsaṇvēva* appears to be corrupt, and I can make nothing satisfactory of it. The Suālkucī grant here fails to help. I have taken *sō* as prakritic for *sa*; compare *ante*, line 50, *ya*, footnote 97.

² Or, as Dr. Bloch suggests, it may be translated: “intently engaged in dividing the original current,” of the heavenly Ganges in Ṣiva’s matted hair according to the well-known mythological story.

³ The moon beholds the charms of the Apsarases; so did Naraka, of whom it is related that he “seized the daughters of the Gandharvas and of gods and men, as well as the Apsarases themselves.” See Dowson’s Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, *sub voce* Naraka. Suggestion of Dr. Bloch.

Alas! for one who is keenly desirous of glory there is truly in this world no counting of kinship.⁴

(7.) Then his wise son, **Bhagadatta** by name, whose shoulder was girt with the mantle of far-reaching glory, and who by the multitude of his good qualities won the affections of the (whole) world, carried upon himself the burden (of the government) of the country with propriety and much prosperity.

(8.) Then the mighty **Vajradatta**, having like Vajrin (*i.e.*, Indra), conquered his enemies, being in beauty like a large diamond, and enjoying the reputation of having achieved the conquest of the world through his own honesty and energy, obtained that kingdom of his brother, just as fire (attains) brilliancy on the setting of the sun.⁵

(9.) After thus, for several generations, kings of Naraka's dynasty had ruled the whole country, a great chief of the Mlecchas, owing to a turn of (adverse) fate, took possession of the kingdom. (This was) **Çālastambha**. In succession to him also there were chiefs, altogether twice ten (*i.e.*, twenty) in number, who are well-known as **Vigraha-stambha** and the rest.

(10.) Seeing that the twenty-first of them, the illustrious chief **Tyāga Simha**⁶ by name, had departed to heaven without (leaving) any of his race (to succeed him),

(Second Plate: obverse:) his subjects, thinking it well that a **Bhauma** (*i.e.*, one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose **Brahmapāla**, from among his kindred, to be their king on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country.⁷

⁴ Naraka is said to have been slain by Kṛṣṇa, who is an incarnation of Viṣṇu or Hari. The latter was Naraka's father: hence the father slew his son. The poet represents this as a sort of voluntary sacrifice on the part of Naraka, who feeling himself too old for his accustomed warlike exploits, purposely, *i.e.*, out of consideration for his father, lived in a careless fashion in order to afford his father an opportunity of slaying him, so that his father (Viṣṇu) might have the reputation of having slain the much-feared demon Naraka. The poet, however, cannot refrain from adding a word of disapproval of Viṣṇu's conduct in setting aside the claims of kinship for the sake of earning a reputation. This explanation was substantially suggested to me by Dr. Bloch.

⁵ There is here a play on the word *vajra*, which means both 'the thunderbolt' and 'a diamond.' Indra is called *vajrin*, or 'the wielder of *vajra* or 'the thunder bolt;' and Vajradatta or 'the gift of Vajra' is said to be as beautiful as a *vajra* or 'diamond.'

⁶ The meaning apparently is that the whole series consisted of 21 members *viz.*, Çālastambha, 19 others, and Tyāga Simha. It is not clear whether the name of the last king is *Çrī-tyāga* or *Tyāga*.

⁷ Verses 10 and 11 are two relative sentences (with *yam* and *yasya*) dependent on the demonstrative *sa* in verse 12.

(11.) “Single-handed he overcame his enemy in battle: why indeed should this appear strange to his detractors, (seeing that) on this point Hara and Hari are examples, and Bhīṣma and indeed many others besides.” Thus arguing, his warriors have always thought very highly of (the conduct of) their home-staying (king), seeing that his enemies fled away in all eight directions.⁸

(12.) His desire being stimulated by the taste of the joys due to his prosperity, he married a young woman who by reason of her devotion to her people bore the name of Kuladēvī, which is, as it were, the standing name for Lakṣmī (or ‘good fortune’) attainable by (all) rulers sprung from any (noble) family of the world.⁹

(13.) By him, who had such a reputation, was begotten on her a son called Ratnapāla, who gained renown because his people justly concluded that a jewel-like king would, by his good qualities, foster the most worthy among them.¹⁰

(14.) By reason of the elephants’ pearls, carried forth by the impetus of the unrestrainable stream of blood running from the split foreheads of the elephants of his enemies,¹¹ his (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla’s) battle-field looked beautiful like a market-place strewn with the stores of merchants, and ruby-coloured through (the blood of) the slain.¹²

(15.) Then having placed him (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla) on the throne to be to the dynasty of Naraka what the sun is to the lotuses, he (*i.e.*, Brahmapāla), the spotless champion, went to heaven; for noble-minded men who know the good and the evil of the world know to do that which is suitable to the occasion.¹³

(Second Plate: obverse: line 28: Prose.) In his capital, the heat (of the weather) was relieved by the copious showers of ruttish water flowing from the temples of his troops of lusty (ware-)elephants which had been presented to him by hundreds of kings conquered by the power of his arms entwined in clusters of flashes of his sharp sword. Though

⁸ Brahmapāla appears to have been of a mild and peaceable disposition; and this is the way that the poets expresses that fact. His son Ratnapāla formed the strongest contrast to him, being a very strong and warlike ruler, with a very long reign.

⁹ There is here a play on the word *kula* or ‘(good) family’. *Kula-dēvī* means a (goddess or) queen of good family or of all good families.

¹⁰ There is here a play on the word *ratna* or ‘jewel.’ A *ratna-upama* or ‘jewel like’ prince may be expected to become a *ratna-pāla* or ‘jewel-protecting’ king.

¹¹ This refers to the well-known Indian fable of certain pearls which are found in the frontal protuberances of certain elephants.

¹² Both grants read *pāḍmarāgī*. The correct form, however, would seem to be *pāḍmarāgā*.

¹³ The emendation *saṁvidratē* was suggested by Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri.

(that capital) was crowded with a dense forest, as it were, of arms of his brave soldiers who were hankering after the plunder of the camps of all his enemies, yet was it fit to be inhabited by wealthy people (merchants.) (In it) the disk of the sun was hid¹⁴ (from view) by the thousands of plastered turrets which are rendered still whiter by the nectar-like¹⁵ smiles of the love-drunk fair damsels (standing on them). It was frequented by many hundreds of well-to-do people¹⁶, just as a forest planted on the heights of the Malaya mountains (is frequented) by snakes. It is adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets who have made it their place of resort, just as the sky is adorned by Mercury, Jupiter and Venus.¹⁷ It resembles the summit of mount Kailāsa in being the residence of the Paramēṣvara (*i.e.*, supreme ruler, or Śiva, the supreme God), and in being inhabited by a Vittēṣa (*i.e.*, a master of wealth, or Kuvēra the God of wealth).¹⁸ Like the cloth which protects the king's broad chest, its boundaries were encompassed by a rampart, furnished with a fence strong like that used for the game-birds of the Çakas, fit to cause chagrin to the king of Gurjara, to give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the chief of Gauda, to act like bitumen in the earth to the lord of Kērala, to strike awe into the Bāhikas and Tāikas, to cause discomfiture (lit., pulmonary consumption) to the master of the Deccan country; and generally to serve for the purpose of discomfiting the (king's) enemies. It is rendered beautiful by the river Lauhitya which gives relief to the fair damsels, that after the exertion of sexual enjoyment ascend to the retirement of their stuccoed turrets, by the spray of its current gently wafted up by the breeze charmingly resonant with the prattle of the flocks of love-drunk females of the Kala-hamsa ducks;

(Second Plate: reverse:) and which (river) also resembles the cloth of the finely wrought flags carried by the elephants of Kailāsa, and

¹⁴ I have adopted the reading *antarhita* in my translation (see text, note 71). The original reads *anta-hṛta*, which would mean 'obstructed by the ends' (or points) of the thousands of pinnacles.

¹⁵ There is here a verbal conceit in the original which is untranslatable. *Saudha* means 'plastered,' and *sudhā* means both 'nectar' and 'whitewash.'

¹⁶ There is here a complicated verbal conceit, which cannot be exactly translated. *Bhōgin* means both a 'well-to-do, pleasure-loving man' and 'a snake.' The Malaya mountains, with its fragrant breezes, will suit the former, while the forest will suit the latter.

¹⁷ Here is again a verbal conceit: *budha* means both 'a learned man' and 'Mercury;' *guru* both 'a religious preceptor' and 'Jupiter,' and *kāvya* both 'a poet' and 'Venus.' The capital was to the men, what the sky is to the planets.

¹⁸ There is here an obvious play on the words *paramēṣvara* and *vittēṣa* which are epithets of the king as well as of a god.

the jewelled mirrors used in their coquetries by the numerous females (*i.e.*, the Apsarases) of the lord of heaven (*i.e.*, Indra). It is an object of respect to merchants who are the owners of numerous (kinds of) wares. Such is the town in which the lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa took up his residence and which he called by the appropriate name of the 'Impregnable one' (*durjaya*). Here dulness might be observed in necklaces, but not in the senses (of the inhabitants); fickleness in apes, but not in their minds; changefulness in the motions of the eyebrows, but not in promises; accidents (happening) to things,¹⁹ but not to the subjects. Here capriciousness might be seen (only) in women; reeling (only) in the gait of women excited with the (tender) intoxication of spring-tide²⁰; covetousness (only) in evil-doers; safe addiction to the sipping of honey (only) in swarms of bees; exceeding devotion to love (only) in Brahmany ducks (*Anas Casarca*); and eating of flesh (only) in wild beasts.²¹ In that town, which emulated the residence of Vāsava (*i.e.*, Indra)²², the king, who resembles the moon in that he makes his virtues to wax, as the moon makes the tides of the encircling ocean to wax, and in that he causes his enemies to experience the deprivation of their wealth, as the moon causes the ponds to experience the deprivation of their lotuses²³; and who resembles the sun in that he makes his feet to rest on the heads of his enemies, as the sun makes his rays to rest on the summits of the mountains,²⁴ and in that he delights in making his copper-mines lucrative, as the sun makes the lotus-ponds brilliant²⁵: who, being a Paramēçvara (or paramount sovereign), takes pleasure in (the country of) Kāmarūpa; who, though being of the Bhauma (*i.e.*, of Naraka's) race, delights in being the enemy of the Dānavas (or demons); who, being a *Puruṣōttama* or 'perfect man,' does not act as a *Janārdana*²⁶

¹⁹ There is a double meaning in *s-ōpasargatū dhātuṣu* which may be also translated 'the prefixing of prepositions (*upasarga*) to verbal roots (*dhātu*).'

²⁰ *Madhu-mada* might also mean 'intoxication with wine.'

²¹ I have inserted "only," because probably oppositions are intended here just as in the preceding passage. Thus "capriciousness in women but not in men;" "reeling in love-drunk women but not in wine-drunk men;" "covetousness in evil-doers but not in other citizens;" "eating of flesh in wild beasts but not in men;" etc.

²² I propose to read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*. The Suālkucī grant reads *Vāsav-āsparddhini*.

²³ *Padma* is the lotus which closes at night, but it also signifies the wealth of Kuvēra, and hence 'wealth' generally.

²⁴ *Pāda* means both 'a foot' and 'a ray;' and *bhū-bhṛt* means both 'a king' and 'a mountain.'

²⁵ *Kamal-ākara* means both 'a lotus-pond' and 'a copper-mine.'

²⁶ There is here an untranslatable play on the words *puruṣōttama* and *janārdana*. Both are epithets of *Viṣṇu*, who is called *puruṣōttama* or 'the best of men,' but also

(or troubler of his subjects); who, though being a valiant man, walks (leisurely) like an elephant: whose figure is such as to outdo Manmatha (or the god of love); whose profundity such as to put into the shade the ocean; whose intelligence²⁷ such as to be a guarantee of the conquest of the world; whose valour such as to surpass Skanda (or the god of war): who is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhīmasēna in war, a Kṛtānta (or god of death) in wrath, a forest-conflagration in destroying his plant-like adversaries:²⁸ who is the moon in the sky of learning, the (sweet) breeze of the Malaya mountains in the midst of the jasmine-like²⁹ men of good birth, the sun in eclipsing his enemies, the mountain of the East³⁰ in the successful advancement of his friends: this king, the *Paramēṣvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Ratnapāla* Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Brahmapāla* Varma-dēva, may he prosper.

(Second Plate: reverse; line 52.) With reference to the land producing two thousand (measures of) rice, and the fields with the clusters of gourds, together with the inferior land of the hamlet of Vāmadēva, (the whole) situated on the northern bank (of the Brahmaputra), within the district of the "Thirteen Villages," the king sends his greetings and commands to all and several who reside (there): to the

janārdana or 'the troubler of men,' because he excites or agitates them. The king, on the contrary, is declared to be a *puruṣōttama*, but not a *janārdana*. There is, in fact, a verbal conceit involved, in every one of the phrases descriptive of the king. Thus *paramēṣvara* is an epithet of Īśvara who is an ascetic and takes no pleasure in *kāma-rūpa* (or attractive things); the king, on the contrary, though he is a *paramēṣvara*, or rather because he is *paramēṣvara* or 'supreme ruler,' takes pleasure in *Kāma-rūpa* (his country). Again Naraka was himself a Dānava, but the king, though of Naraka's race, delights in being an enemy of the Dānavas. But the word *dānavāri* may also be divided into *dāna* or 'gift,' and *vāri* or 'water,' i.e., the water, the out-pouring of which is symbolical of the grant of a gift. In that case the passage means that the king, though of Naraka's (i.e., of Dānava) race, yet delights in giving presents to Brāhmins.

²⁷ I propose to read *dhīryam*, because *vīryam* recurs immediately in the following sentence. *V* and *dh* are apt to be confounded in writing.

²⁸ There is an untranslatable conceit in the word *vīrudhi*, which may also be spelt *virudhi*. Spelt *vīrudh*, the word means 'a plant;' spelt *virudh*, it means 'stopping.' With the latter spelling, the passage would mean that the king is like a forest-fire in stopping his enemies.

²⁹ *Sumanas* may be any flower, but especially the sweet-scented *Jasminum grandiflorum*. The Malaya mountains were famous for their breezes laden with the sweet scent of their fauna. The king, in the midst of his flower-like aristocracy, wafts, as it were, their sweet scent over the country.

³⁰ There is a verbal conceit in *mitrōdgama* which may also mean 'the rising of the sun;' that is, what the eastern mountains are to the rising sun, that the king is to the advancement of his friends.

(common) people of the Brāhman and other castes, headed by the district revenue officers and their clerks, as well as to the other (higher-class) people, such as the Rājanakas, Rājaputras, Rājavallabhas, etc., and above them the Rāṇakas, Rājñis, and Rājas; and, in fact, to all who may reside there in future at any time.

Be it known to you, that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all worries on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenant's taxes, the imposts for various causes, and the pasturing of animals, such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, buffalos, goats and sheep, as set forth in this charter:—³¹

(Third Plate: line 58: verse 1.) There was a Brāhman in the land, Dēvadatta, of the Pārāsara Gōtra and the Kāṇva çākhā; a leader among the Vājasanēyakas, whom on having found to be the foremost vedic scholar, the Vēdas, in their threefold division³², felt themselves satisfied.

(2.) He had a son, Sadgaṅgādatta, richly endowed with (every) virtue, who ever kept the holy fire burning (in his house), and at the sight of whose devotion to the six holy duties³³ a multitude of people were established in their faith in the whole body of Brāhmans from Bhṛgu downwards.

(3.) He had a wife, Çyāmāyikā, devoted to her husband and endowed with (every) virtue, who shines like the streak (crescent or quarter) of the moon, pure in form and dispelling the darkness.

(4.) From her was born a son, Vīradatta, a leader among the learned in the Çāstras, and fearful of (committing) any offence, on the experience of whose deep-seated piety and formidable intellect the Kali age felt, as it were, humbled.

(5.) To him, on the Viṣṇupadī Saṅkrānti,³⁴ in the twenty-fifth year of my reign, (this land) is given by me for the sake of the good and the glory of my father and of myself.

³¹ The sentence which breaks off here, is resumed below in verse 5.

³² Referring either to the three Vēdas, or to the three vedic sciences of hymn, sacrifice and song. The reading *ākṛt-ārthāyitam*, however, is not quite intelligible to me.

³³ The six duties are: studying and teaching the Vēdas, offering sacrifices and conducting them for others, giving and receiving gifts.

³⁴ There are four of these; viz., the instants of the sun's entrance into the four Hindū signs *vṛṣa* (taurus), *simha* (leo), *vṛścika* (scorpion) and *kumbha* (aquarius) which are also the beginnings for the four months *Jyēṣṭha*, *Bhādrapada*, *Mārgaṣīṣa* and *Phālguna*. The first of these is probably intended here.

(Its) boundaries (are as follows): On the east, the Çālmali-tree³⁵ on the big dike; on the south-east, the Çālmali-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river Brahmaputra) by the anchorage of the boats for the Pāṭhī fish of the Rūṣi-class;³⁶ on the south the Badarī-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the south-west the Kāçimbala-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the west the Āçvatha-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river); at the bend to the north-west, the dike of the fields, as well as a Kāçimbala-tree; on the north-west the Hijjala-tree on the dike of the fields; at the bend to the east and north, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; further at the bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Kāçimbala-trees; at the slight bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; on the north, the Kāçimbala-tree on the big dike; and on the north-east, a Vētasa-tree on the big dike.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, the illustrious Ratnapāla Varma Dēva.

II. THE SUĀLKUCĪ GRANT.

This grant and its seal exactly resemble the Gauhaṭī and Bargāon grants, as may be seen from the photographs (Plates XII and XIII). The plates measure $12\frac{1}{6}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches and are protected by a slightly raised rim on all four sides. The seal measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The grant is in a rather bad state of preservation. Originally there were three plates. The first plate is missing, and consequently the inscription on the outer (or obverse side) of the second plate has greatly suffered from corrosion. In addition, there has been applied much injudicious cleaning, before the plates were placed in my hands, in consequence of which the inscription throughout the grant has been rendered very difficult of decipherment. In fact, it would have been impossible to fully decipher it, but for the help afforded by the Bargāon grant, with the greater part of which happily the Suālkucī grant is

³⁵ The trees here mentioned are: Çālmali, *Bombax malabaricum*; Badarī, *Zizyphus Jujuba* or Jujube tree; Kāçimbala, an inferior kind of Çimbala, which I cannot identify; Āçvatha, *Ficus religiosa*; Hijjala, *Barringtonia acutangula*; Vētasa, *Calamus Rotang*.

³⁶ The *pāṭhī* is a kind of sheat-fish (*Silurus Pelorius*), also called *pāṭhīna*, and in Baṅgālī *rōyāl*. The term *rūṣi* I cannot identify; it might be connected with Sanskrit *rōhiṣa*.

identical. The only difference appears to be in the statements referring to the land and the person to whom the land was granted.

The two sides of the first (originally second) plate have 19 lines each. The second (originally third) plate has 7 lines. The inscription on the obverse of the former plate probably commenced with the word *phala* on l. 21 of the obverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The reverse of that plate commences with the word [*pri-*] *yānuvarttanam*, the syllable *pri* being at the end of the obverse side; and this word stands on line 43 of the reverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The formal part of the Suālkucī grant ends in its 37th line (the last but one on the reverse side of the existing first plate) with the phrase *çāsanī-kṛtya*, which stands in the 58th line (the first of the 3rd plate of the Bargāon grant). From here the remainder of the Suālkucī grant is occupied with the portion peculiar to it, describing the grantee and the granted land.

The mechanical execution of the Suālkucī grant is, if anything, still more slovenly and inaccurate than that of the Bargāon grant. A glance over the extracts, given below, will show numerous blunders. There are, however, a few variants, which appear to be genuine differences of composition; e.g., l. 14, *kalahansa-gāminī* (for *kalahaṃsa-gāminī*) 'females walking like kalahaṃsa geese,' l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*; or which actually offer more suitable readings, as in l. 11, *kṛḍā-çakuni* (for *krīḍā-çakuni*), and in l. 33, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika*.

Palaeographically the Suālkucī grant does not differ in any way from the Bargāon grant. The guttural nasal *ṇ* is throughout made without a ringlet. Only once, in l. 12, *taṃka*, it is represented by the anusvāra; but this case is not above suspicion, because the reading here is defective; see the extract below. The anusvāra is formed by a ringlet and placed above the line. The special final form for *n* occurs in l. 10, *jānapadān*, and l. 11, *prabhṛtīn* and *sarvvān*. The special final form of *t* occurs in l. 21, *bhṛt*, and in l. 34 'bhūt. The special final form of *m* occurs, twice, in ll. 23 and 24 *vairyam*; as a rule, however, the anusvāra is used; thus in l. 9, *maṇḍalaṃ*, l. 10, *alaykāraṃ*, l. 16, *sārthānām*, and l. 23, *gambhīrya[m]*, where the Bargāon grant has the special form. The initial short *i*, made by two ringlets placed above a hook, occurs in ll. 3 and 34, *iti*, l. 40, *iṣṭa*; but in l. 21, the hiatus with *iva*, which the Bargāon grant shows, is avoided in the Suālkucī grant by the insertion of a euphonic *r*. The avagraha occurs in l. 25, *çūryō'ri*, where it is omitted in the Bargāon grant. It appears also to be intended, in l. 40, by the mark of interpunctuation.

Regarding the probable date of the Suālkucī grant, see the remarks on the Bargāon grant. It is not dated in any era, but professes to have been issued in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

In the following transcript I shall only quote such portions of the Suālkucī grant as differ in any respect from the corresponding portions of the Bargāon grant, or as show the same irregularities. The portion peculiar to the Suālkucī grant is transcribed in full.

TEXT.¹*Second Plate : Obverse.*

- 1, phala etc., ending with samprāptā-lakṣmyāḥ sthitam=i- (see Bargāon grant, ll. 21 and 22).
- 2, va apparently ratnōpamō narapati etc. (cf. l. 23.)
- 4, padma-rāgi cōbhētā vira-vaṇijām nikaraiḥ etc. (cf. ll. 25, 26).
- 5, bhānum samvēçya tā (*sic*) etc. (cf. l. 127):
- 6, sat-ōpāyanī sa-mada etc., omitting kṛta (cf. l. 29).
- 7, syāndi-dāmvu (*sic*) samupasamitu (*sic*) luṇṭanal-lapaṭa etc. (cf. ll. 29, 30).
- 8, ... nivāsa-yōgyam | sundarī-chudhā (*sic*) sikhar-ādhirudha-sahasr-ānta etc. (cf. ll. 31, 32).
- 9, sthali-ruham | kānanēm=iv=ānēka-bhōgi-sata nabhō-vammēvāpta (*sic*) (cf. l. 32, 33).
- 11, kṛdā-çakuni-dṛdha² prajvarēṇa etc. (cf. l. 34).
- 12, Kēralē | sa-calā-çilājatuh nā (*sic*) Vāhika-tamka etc., omitting Tāika (cf. l. 35).
- 13, rājajakṣmaṇā | vakṣaḥ | kapāṭa etc. (l. 35, 36).
- 14, kalahansa-gāminī | kulah kuṇita-prēçala (*sic*) ōrmmi | çikar-āsāram=upaçamitā etc. (cf. ll. 36, 37).
- 15, ādhirūdha | paṭē nākiça (*sic*) (cf. ll. 37, 38).
- 76, anēkamanakṣa-pati etc. (cf. l. 39).
- 17, adhyuvāsyā (*sic*) | yaṣṭiṣu |³ n-ēndrayēṣu etc. (cf. l. 40).

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 20, y-ānuvarttanam | ... piçitā svāpadēṣu | ... Vāsav-āsparddhini | etc., omitting çitā (cf. ll. 43, 44).
- 21, ṇḍalam | çatru-sarasām darppita mārttaṇḍa r=iva bhū-bhṛt-chirō-nivēçita-pādam | ōdbhāsana-lā- (cf. ll. 44, 45).

¹ From the original plates.

² The akṣara *dha* stands below the line.

³ This mark of interpunctuation is placed almost regularly after each clause.

- 22, laçaç⁴=ca kāmārūpā | nandi dānavāri | paruṣōttamō
(sic) py=adanārddanō | etc. (cf. ll. 46, 47).
- 23, pi mattēha-gāmī ya | sā rūpā | gambhīrya | ... āsansi-
vairyam | etc. (cf. ll. 47, 48).
- 24, ndi-vairyam | yaçaṣi | Bhiṣmō dhanuṣi | etc. (cf. ll. 48, 49).
- 25, Āryō'ri-tamasi |³ etc. (cf. l. 50).
- 26, sampadī ya | pādānudhyātaḥ paramēṣvaraḥ parama-satāra-
(sic) (cf. ll. 50, 51).
- 27, ṣrīmān=**Ratnapāla**-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali || 𑀭𑀮𑀸𑀓 || Kala-
- 28, ngā-viṣay-āntaḥ-pāti-dhānya-tri-sahasr-ōtpattika-ha-kṛṣṭā⁵-
bhūmau yathāyatham samupasthita-v(b)rā-
- 29, hmaṇ-ādi etc. (cf. l. 54).
- 33, nānā-nimitt mahiṣ-āj-āvika-pracāra-prabhṛtinām etc.
(cf. ll. 57 58).
- 34, ṣāsanī-kṛtya || ⁶ Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrō Vājasaneyi Ārkāṇva⁷
ṣākhō'bhūt | bhaṭṭō V(b)ala-dēva iti khyāta-
- 35, ḥ ṣruta-vinaya-sampannaḥ || [1 ||] Āsīt-pratihata-narakō v(b)a-
hu-vibudha-vandyamāna-carāṇa-yugmaḥ | × × × × × ma ×
× × ×.⁸
- 36, s=tat-putrō Vāsudēv-ākhyāḥ || [2 ||] Lakṣmīr=iva jana-sēvyā
bhāry=āsīd=asya vallabhā sādhvī | c=Chēppāyik=ēti viditā sad-
dharmmā va-
- 37, rṇa-bhūṣaṇā⁹ ramyā || [3 ||] ¹⁰Tāsyām=ajāyata sutō bhuvī Kāma-
dēvaḥ ṣaktyā¹¹ manō-ramatayā jita-kāma-dēhaḥ | kāntiḥ
- 38, samasta bhuvanam hi ṣaṣāṅka-ṣubhrā yasy=āniṣam=bhramati
bhūri vibhūṣita-dyauḥ || [4 ||] ¹²Pitrōḥ svam=punyam=uddiṣya
¹³ × × × × ×

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 39, — 𑀭 — | mayā dattā dvijāy=āsyai rājyē ṣadviṇṣad-āv(b)dikē
|| [5 ||] Asyās=sīmā pūrvvēṇa Candē-naukī(nā)¹⁴

⁴ The first akṣara ṣa is superfluous.

⁵ Perhaps read *hala-kṛṣṭa*.

⁶ Metre of verses 1-3: *Āryā*.

⁷ Read *Ārikāṇva*.

⁸ Ten akṣaras are here illegible.

⁹ The reading is uncertain.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

¹¹ Reading uncertain.

¹² Metre: *Glōka*.

¹³ Here 8 akṣaras, or a quarter-verse, are illegible.

¹⁴ The bracketed portions are uncertain.

- 40, (n=s)aha-sīmni iṣṭak(ēndrasy)=ōpari ṣa(va)ra-mūla¹⁵ | khōd-
 āmv(b)ra-vṛkṣau | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna (dakṣi¹⁶)-pāṭi-naukī-sa-
 41, ha-sīmni Vētasavṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇēna Sadhava-naukī-saha-sīmni
 Hijalavṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paṇcimēna (Bhaṣaka)-
 42, mavṛkṣaḥ | paṇcimēna Candē-naukī-saha-sīmni adhunā-rōpita-
 Ḍālmali-vṛkṣaḥ | paṇcim-ōttarēna Kalanḡā-
 43, daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Sadhava-Kalanḡā-
 daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭa-sṭha-Cōraka-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrē-
 44, ṇa kula-sōnt-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Sadhava-kula-
 sōnt-ōttara-pāṭa-sṭha-Varuṇavṛkṣaḥ | uttara-ga-vakrēna Hija-
 45, lavṛkṣaḥ | uttarēna Diyamv(b)ārāñjal-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | uttara-
 pūrvvēṇ=āli-mastaka-Vētasac=c=ēti ||

The Seal.

- (1) Ōm svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipaty-anva-
 (2) yō mahārāj-ādhirāja-ḡrī-**Ratna**-
 (3) **pāla**-varmma-dēvaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Second Plate : Reverse.

(Line 34; verse 1.) There was a learned Brāhman, called Bala-dēva, full of holy lore and good conduct, who belonged to Bhāradvāja's gōtra and the Ḍrikāṇṭha ṣākhā of the Vājasaneyins.

(2) He had a son, Vāsudēva by name,.....¹⁷, who (by his sanctity) had exempted himself from hell, and whose feet were revered by many learned men.

(3) He had a loving and chaste wife who, like Lakṣmī (the goddess of good fortune), was honoured by the people. She was known by the name of Chēppāyikā,¹⁸ a woman charming, true in faith, and an ornament to her caste.

(4) From her was born a son Kāmadēva who on earth by his power and his charm excels Kāma, the god of love; for his beauty, brilliant like the moon, and illuminating the heavens, incessantly wanders through the whole world.

¹⁵ Probably read *mūlē 'khōd-āmbra*.

¹⁶ Perhaps read *dakṣiṇa*.

¹⁷ Here the original text is illegible. There are 11 akṣaras—all short, as the metre shows,—of which only one (the seventh) *ma* is legible.

¹⁸ This appears to be a vernacular name, the Sanskrit equivalent of which I do not know.

(5) With a view to my parents' as well as my own welfare,.....
, (this land) is given by me to this Brāhman, in the twenty-sixth year of my reign.

Its boundaries are (as follows): On the East, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candē men, and at the foot of the Saravā above the brickfield there are a walnut and a mango tree. On the North-east, at the anchorage of the boats of the men (located) on the southern terrace, there is a Vēṭasa-tree.¹⁹ On the South, at the anchorage of the boats of the Sadhava men, there stands a Hijjala-tree. On the South-west, there stands a Bhayakama(?) tree. On the West, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candē men, there stands the Ćālmali-tree which has been recently planted. On the North-west, there is the southern terrace of the boatmen of Kalanḡā. At the bend on the East, there is the Cōraka tree, standing on the southern terrace of the boatmen of the Sadhava (portion of) Kalanḡā. At the bend on the South, there is the northern terrace of the Sōnta²⁰ of the (river's) bank. At the bend on the East, there is the Varuṇa-tree, standing on the northern terrace of the Sōnta of the Sadhava (portion of the) river's bank. At the bend on the North, there is a Hijjala tree. On the North, there is the northern terrace of the Diyambārāñjala, and on the North-east, a Vēṭasa-tree on the highest point of the dike.

The Seal.

Ōm! Hail! the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, of the illustrious race of the lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma Dēva.

¹⁹ Regarding the identity of the trees in this list, see *ante*, page 120, footnote 35. Of the Bhayakama tree I can make nothing, but the akṣaras *bhayaka* are uncertain. I am unable to identify the Cōraka tree. It is commonly identified with *Trijonella corniculata* or *Andropogon acicularis*; these, however, are mere plants.

²⁰ I do not know what *sōnta* means. It corresponds to *daṇḍi* in the preceding clause.

A Note on the Identity of the great Tsang-po of Tibet with the Dihong.—By
SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., Rai Bahādur.

[Read February, 1897.]

Sir Clements Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society in his learned introduction to “Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet,” regarding the course of the Tsang-po wrote as follows:—“Beyond the point where the Lhasa route crosses the river, in longitude $90^{\circ} 40'$ E., the course of the Brahmaputra within the mountains is entirely unknown for a distance of about 400 miles, when, under the name of Dihong, the mighty stream emerges into the valley of Assam and becomes the Brahmaputra of the plains. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the Tsang-po of great Tibet and the Brahmaputra of the plains are one and the same river.”

This question has occupied the attention of geographers for upwards of a century. In his instructions, dated 1774, Warren Hastings specially enjoined Mr. Bogle to inform himself respecting the course of the Brahmaputra. D’Anville, and afterwards Klaproth, believed that the Tibet river was the upper course of the Irrawaddy. In 1825 Captains Bulton and Wilcox were sent to explore its course. Bulton followed up the course of the Dihong, until he was stopped by wild tribes, while Wilcox crossed the water-parting towards Burma, and reached the banks of the Irrawaddy. From the point reached by Bulton on the Dihong, to the place where Manning crossed the Tsang-po, there is an interval of about 400 miles, and a difference of level of 11,000 feet. This interval was entirely unknown till 1882 when I explored up to Saugrī Khamar, a place situated to the east of the town of Chethang on the Tsang-po where it crosses 92° Lg., and Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, about 50 miles further east up to the confines of the province of Kongbu; and Kunthup has done, though not scientifically, further 200 miles, so that out of 400 now only about 50 miles remain to be explored.

In July 1880, a Lama of Gya-rong was despatched by the late

Captain Harman from Darjeeling to Tibet with orders to explore the country below Gyala Sing-dong and trace the great Tsang-po to the plains of India, or failing this, to throw marked logs into the stream at the lowest point reached. It was intended that due notice should be given by the Lama to Captain Harman of the period during which the logs were daily to be cast into the river, so that he might set watches at the place where the Dihong debouches into Assam, and thus prove the identity or otherwise of the great river of Tibet with the Brahmaputra. Kunthup, a native of Sikkim, who had previously accompanied the explorer Nima Sring to Gyala Sing-dong and who has since traversed Bhutān with Rinzing, was sent with the Gya-rong Lama as assistant. The proposed arrangements for casting logs into the Tsang-po fell through owing to the delinquency of the Lama, who having sold Kunthup as a slave in the Pema-koi country decamped to his home in Gya-rong within the Chinese frontier.

Kunthup having escaped from the hands of his master, reached Onlek a short stage from Mir Padam, or Miri Padam, a village situated on a plain on the Tsang-po, a resort of traders from Assam, and the abode of the Miri and Padam tribes, who are known to inhabit the country near the place where the Dihong breaks through the hills into Assam. He was informed at Onlek that Miri Padam was about three days' journey or 35 miles from the nearest plains of India. Kunthup also saw the haze of India from Onlek in an easterly direction when looking down the river. According to native report and also legend, the Tsang-po enters a deep rocky gorge at the foot of a rocky mountain which has the appearance of a lion's face and is therefore called Sing-dong, from *sing* a lion and *dong* a face. Kunthup describes the falls of the Tsang-po below the Pema-koi monastery as a cascade of some 150 feet in height, and mentions the prismatic colours of the spray hanging over the dark basin or lake below the cliff. This rock is called Shin-jē-shējal, *i. e.*, the place of interview with the Lord of the Dead. *Shin* the dead, *jē* lord, and *shē-jal* an interview.

Since then Mr. Needham, a political officer, resident near Sudya in Assam, has explored a part of the mountainous country, inhabited by Mishmi and other wild tribes, up to the borders of Za-yul, but has not succeeded in following up the course of the Dihong. The inscription before us and the letter of Mr. Barnes, quoted below, go to prove that the Dihong is the great Tsang-po, as it was conjectured by the late General Walker. The wooden block on which the inscription is, came down from the Tsang-po. It must have belonged to some one of the Nij-ma monasteries of Tibet or to the monastery of Pema-koi, the last of the Buddhist institutions of Tibet, situated to the further East of

Tibet. My friend and tutor Lama Sherab resided twelve years at the Pema-koi monastery and knows the country well. The charm contained in the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit written in Tibetan and repeated twenty-five times. It belongs to the Nīṃ-ma-pa or the older red-cap School of Tibet. The following is a transcript :—

(1.) ཨོཾ་ བ་རྩ་ས་དྲ་ ས་ས་ཡ་ས་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ བ་རྩ་ས་དྲ་ དྲ་ རོ་ བ་དེ་ལྷ་
བྱི་རྩོ་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རོ་ལྷ་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ བོ་ལྷ་།

(2.) མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ཨ་ལྷ་ར་ལྷ་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ས་བོ་སེད་དྲི་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ ས་བོ་
ཀམ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ མེ་ ཅི་དྲི་ བྱེ་ཡེ། ཀུ་རུ།

(3.) ཧུྃ་ཧ་ཧ་ཧ་ཧ་ཧོ། ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ ས་བོ་དྲ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ བ་རྩ་ས་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་
བ་རྩོ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ས་ལྷ་ས་ས་ལྷ་ ས་དྲ་ལྷ་ལྷ་།

(1.) Ōṃ, vajrasatva! samayam=anupālaya, vajrasatva! tvē nō patiṣṭha; dridhō mē bhavasū, toṣyō mē bhavasū, pōṣyō.

(2.) mē bhava, anuraktō mē bhava, sarvasiddhi mē prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca mē cittam cṛēyah kuru.

(3.) Hūm-ha-ha-ha-ha-hōḥ! Bhagavan Sarva-Tathāgata! vajram mē muñca, vajri bhava mahāsamaya satva-āḥ!

Translation :

(1.) Ōṃ, vajrasattva! keep thy duties; O vajrasattva, ground us upon thee; be strong to me, be delighted with me.

(2.) Be kind unto me, be cheerful unto me; grant me every success, and in all my actions make pure my heart!

Line 3 seems rather untranslatable.

The letter of Mr. H. C. Barnes, Assistant Commissioner of Dibrugarh, dated the 22nd October, 1896, is as follows :—

“I enclose a print taken from a piece of wood found in the Brahmaputra a few miles above Dibrugarh a short time ago. When brought in, it appeared that the block was meant for printing from, as, though the surface of the letters was clean, the whole of the carved out portion of the wood, *i.e.*, the space between the letters, was covered with what

looked like ink. Moreover, though no one could say what the writing was by mere inspection of the block; some Khamptis on seeing a print taken from it, declared that it was a Lama, *i.e.*, Tibetan, writing. You will observe that the lines are similar, so that a translation of one will give the meaning of the whole. I should be obliged if you would send me a translation and also inform me what the block was used for. If my conjecture that it was used for printing from is wrong and the Khamptis have misled me, I can send you a rubbing of the block.

“The block is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick and it has no marks on the sides or back to show that it has ever been fastened to anything else. It is supposed to have been brought down the Dihong by the last flood, which was probably caused by the breaking through of a dam formed across the Dihong by a former landslip. The flood rose to a great height in one night in fine weather and no other river came down in flood except the Dihong. The piece of wood was found by an Assamese who was looking for firewood.”



*Numismatic Notes and Novelties, No. III.¹ Ancient and Mediæval India.—**By* VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S.

(With Plate XIV.)

[Read April, 1898]

INDO-BACTRIAN.

I.

TELEPHUS.

Copper or bronze, rectangular, measuring .95 by .85 inch (= about 25 × 21 m.m.), and about .15 thick. Weight 131 gr. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Zeus (or king) seated l., on throne with back; his r. hand advanced; in his l., sceptre.

Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (left) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (top) [Τ]ΗΛΕΦΟΥ (right).

Rev. Figure (? female) to r., seated in crouching attitude, with r. arm extended; l. arm not visible.

Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa* (on right) *Kalinakrama* (? on top) *sa Tēliphasa* (damaged, on left).

This very remarkable piece has recently been obtained by Mr. J. P. Rawlins at Haripur in the Hazāra District of the Panjab.

The figure of Zeus resembles that on the reverse of the ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ coins of Hermæus (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 65, Pl. XV, 7). The reverse device is unique, and I am unable to explain it.

The reading of the king's name in Greek is certain. The Kharōṣṭhī equivalent could not be deciphered without the help of the Greek.

The coinage of Telephus is of extreme rarity, and has heretofore been known in silver only. The Elliot hemidrachm in the Bodleian cabinet was considered unique until Von Sallet identified two duplicates of it among the unnamed coins of the Guthrie collection at Berlin (Von Sallet, p. 131).

Professor Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 171) describes the Bodleian specimen as follows:—

¹ No. I. appeared in this *Journal* for 1897, Vol. LXVI, Part I, p. 1 ff.; No. II, appeared on p. 298 ff., of the same.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ. Giant (Skythes ?), his body ending in three serpents ; holds in each hand, hammer (?)

Rev. Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa palanakramasa* (or perhaps, *pālanakṣamasa*) *Teliphasa*. Helios radiate, facing, clad in tunic and chlamys, holds long sceptre ; beside him male figure wrapped in mantle, wearing wreath, or horned ; in field, mon. Weight 37. Diam. .7.

The long epithet which is the Prākṛit equivalent of *εὐεργέτου* appears to be the same on the new coin as on the previously known hemidrachms. The reading is unfortunately doubtful.

Lassen read *parakaramasa*, which, as Von Sallet remarks, is certainly erroneous.

Cunningham suggested *kalānakramasa*. Von Sallet reads *kalana-* (or *kalaka-*) *kramasa*.

I agree that the first character is *ka*, and that the second consonant is *l*. But the new coin shows a short vertical stroke across the horizontal line of the *l*, which converts the character into *li*, or *lē*.

The third character, a hook turned to the right, is certainly either the cerebral *ṇ*, or the dental *n*. The first element of the word therefore reads *kalina*, or *kalēna*.

Lengthening the vowels it may be read as *kālīna*, (or *kālēna*), and the whole compound taken as *kālīnakramasa*. Mr. Bendall's *pālanakṣamasa* does not seem to be admissible. But, though *kālīnakramasa* seems to be a good reading of the letters, I do not understand how that form can be used as a translation of *εὐεργέτου*, 'benefactor.'¹

INDO-BACTRIAN.

II.

PEUKELAUS.

Copper or bronze, square. Diameter .95 × .85. Weight 142 gr. From Bannū District, west of the Indus. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Male figure, to front, looking l., wearing hat and short coat.

Legend, [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚ[Ε-ΛΑΟΥ]

Rev. City, turreted, standing, with r. hand outstretched over mon., and palm over l. shoulder.

Kharōṣṭhī legend, [*Maha*] *rajasa dhramikasa tradatasa Peukalaüsa*.

This interesting coin is unfortunately in poor condition, and a photograph of it cannot be distinct.

The coins of Peukelaus were published for the first time recently by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who briefly noticed two specimens, (apparently obtained at Peshāwar?), of which one belonged to Sir Alexander

[¹ I have not the slightest doubt that the reading of this word is *kalanakramasa*, or in Sanskrit *kālyāṇakarmanah*, which corresponds exactly to the Greek *εὐεργέτου*.—Ed.].

Cunningham, and the other to Mr. L. White King.¹ The coin now published is, therefore, the third known specimen.

Cunningham called the figure on the obverse Apollo, and that on the reverse Demeter. I cannot say whether or not the figures were the same as those on Mr. Rawlins' coin. I cannot find the obverse figure on any other Bactrian coin.

The reverse figure is that of a turreted personified city, as on the square bronze coins of Hippostratus, with Triton obv. (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 60, Pl. XIV, 6). The mon. on the coin of Mr. Rawlins' is the same as that on the coin of Hippostratus with horseman reverse (*ibid.* Pl. XIV, 6).

It is clear, therefore, that Peukelaus was approximately contemporary with Hippostratus.

The legends ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and *dhramikasa tradatasa* indicate that the period of Hippostratus and Peukelaus is not far removed from that of Menander. The same inference is suggested by the use in the Greek legend of the minute dot form of *omikron*.

The early part of the Greek legend is illegible, but the word ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ can be read, and most of the letters of the Kharōṣṭhī legend can be made out on the original coin. The king's name is certain, ΠΕΥΚ, in Greek, and *Peūk* in Kharōṣṭhī, being distinct.

The name Peukelaus necessarily recalls to the mind that of the city Peukelaïtis or Peukelaotis, mentioned by several Greek writers. Arrian tells us that in the dominions of the Assakenoi (probably the Açvakas) there was a great city called Massaka, the capital, and that, there was another city of great size, called Peukelaïtis, not far from the west bank of the Indus.²

This city seems to be the same which is described by Hiuen Tsiang under the name of Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti, or Puṣkalāvatī, which was situated across a great river about 9 miles (50 *li*) north-east of Kaniṣka's famous monastery at or near Peshāwar. The "great river" must be the Kābul. The distance stated by the Chinese pilgrim indicates that the site is to be looked for at the Nicetta or Nisattha of the maps rather than at Hashtnagar, where it is placed by Cunningham.³

If Peukelaïtis and Puṣkalāvatī are identical, which is not exactly proved, it seems quite possible that the Greek name may be derived from the name of the king Peukelaus, and not, as has hitherto been assumed, from a Prakrit form of Puṣkalāvatī.

¹ *Num. Chronicle* for 1896, p. 269.

² McCrindle "Megasthenes and Arrian," p. 180. Arrian was born about A.D. 90, and lived to an advanced age. The date of king Menander is approximately B.C. 100.

³ "Reports" II, 90; XIX, 96-110: Vivien de St. Martin in Julien's Hiuen Tsiang, III, 308.

NORTHERN SATRAPS.

III

SATRAP TARAKI.

Copper, circular; diam. .6. Wt. 19 gr. obverse slightly convex, and reverse concave. Thin. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Bust to r., bare-headed, or wearing closefitting cap. Traces of Brāhmī letters in front of face. Dotted circle.

Rev. Legend in two lines, occupying field, in border :—

[महाक्ष]त्रप, [*Mahākṣa*]trapa.

तरकि *Tarāki.*

This remarkable coin comes from the Bannū District. The characters are those of the northern alphabet of about the beginning of the Christian era, and closely resemble those on the known coins of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā.

KUṢANA.

IV

KADPHISES I.

A. Copper, Diameter .8. Wt. 63 gr. Rather thin coin, without rim. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Bust to r., apparently bareheaded, Greek legend on r. margin, ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔ[ΦΙΣΟΥ].

Rev. Soldier marching to r., wearing crested broad-brimmed hat, and armed with a long spear and convex shield.

Kharoṣṭhī legend.—*la kaüsa kuṣa*—.

V B. Copper, Diameter .7. Wt. 73 gr. Thick coin, with raised rim on reverse. [TALBOT.]

Obv. Bust to r., with a more Parthian appearance than that of A. Greek legend not distinctly legible, though apparently the same as on A.

Rev. Device as on A, in better preservation. Kharoṣṭhī legend in perfectly preserved letters, *Kaüsa kuṣanasa*.

The two coins above described have been sent to me by their owners from the Hazāra District. Mr. Talbot's coin first arrived, and was not fully intelligible until Mr. Rawlins' specimen was received.

The Greek legend *Kozoulo Kad* proves that the coin must be assigned to Kozoulo or Kozoula (Kh. *Kujula*) Kadphises, and not to Kadaphes, on whose coins the tribal name is written with the initial aspirate (Gr. *χοπανου* and Kh. *Khuṣanasa*), and the name or title of the king is written *Kuyula* in Kharoṣṭhī and *Kozola* in Greek, instead of the corresponding *kujula* and *kozoulo* or *kozoula* on the coins of Kadphises I. But, as will be shown later, it is possible that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes may be identical.

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on these coins is new. The reading *kaüsa* is perfectly certain; the first character is *ka*, the second is initial *u*, and the third is *sa*. The A specimen preserves a character in front of

kaüsa, which seems to be *la*, the last syllable of *kujula*. I interpret *kaüsa* as an abbreviated genitive corresponding to *Kadphison* in the Greek.

The reverse device is as novel as the legend.

When about to send this paper to the press I found that two coins of this type, (though not quite identical) had already been described by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, p.p. 46, 64, Pl. xiv. (iv), 5, 6.)

He describes the king's head as "helmeted" and reads the Greek legend as $\text{KOZOY\Lambda O KA.....KOP\SAN}$: and the Kharōṣṭhī legend as *kuyula kasasa kuṣana Yaviāsa*. The second word on the coins now published is certainly *kaüsa*, not *kasasa*. It is impossible to mistake the character for *u*, which is a hook with loop at foot.

The following statement compares the newly discovered coins with the related types previously known, which are:—

I. HERMÆUS.

Obv. Bust of the King r., diademed:—

$\text{BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.}$

Rev. Throned Zeus.

Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*.

B. M. Catal. p. 65; *Von Sallet*, p. 117). The correct reading of the Greek legend *stērossu* as an adjective in the genitive, the equivalent of *mahatasa*, is due to Mr. Rapson, in *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, p. 320.

II. HERMÆUS AND KADPHISES I.

Obv. As above, with same legend *stērossu*.

Rev. Herakles, standing, facing, diademed, holds in r. hand, club; in l., lion's skin. Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana yavugasa dhramaṭhidasas*.

(*B. M. Catal.*, p. 120; *Von Sallet*, p. 118.)

III. KADPHISES I.

Obv. Bust r., as in I and II.

Greek legend KOPONA (or similar word, probably intended as an equivalent for *Kuṣana*—the letters vary) KOZOY\Lambda O (or KOZOY\Lambda A) $\text{KA\Delta\Phi I\S OY.}$

Rev. Device and Kharōṣṭhī legend as in II. (*B. M. Catal.* p. 122; *Von Sallet*, p. 179).

IV. KADAPHES.

Obv. Head of the king r. diad. (closely resembling that of Augustus in the later years of his life). Greek legend $\text{XOPAN\S Y ZA\O OY KOZO\Lambda A KA\Delta A\Phi E\S.}$

Rev. *Khuṣanasa yanasa kuyula kaphsasa sacadhramaṭhidasas* in Kharōṣṭhī. King seated on chair. (*B. M. Catal.* p. 123; *Von Sallet*, p. 180).

The above legends clearly show that the king Kozoula Kadphises (No. III) was a *Kuṣana* chieftain, who reigned at first as colleague

of Hermæus, with the titles *dhramathidasa*, equivalent to *δικαίου*, and *yavugasa* (reading not quite certain), of unknown meaning.

I take *kasasa* in Nos. II and III as a genitive proper name, the equivalent of the Greek *ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ*, that is to say, Kadphises in the genitive case. The nominative case of the name in the Prākrit should therefore apparently be Kasa, = Kadphises.

The meaning of *kozoulo* (*kozoula*) in Greek, equivalent to *kujula* (No. II and III) and *kuyula* (No. IV), is not yet ascertained. But it seems impossible to doubt that the Greek *kozoulo*, *kozoula*, or *kozola*, (No. IV), and the Prākrit *kujula* (Nos. II and III), and *kuyula* (No. IV) are all different forms of the same word. If Kadphises I. (No. III) is distinct from Kadaphes (No. IV) that word must be an epithet or title rather than a proper name. But I have a strong suspicion that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes were one and the same person, and that the epithet *yavugasa* of No. II is only a fuller form of the *yauasa* (= *ΖΑΟΥ*) of No. IV.

The king's name (in the genitive) is in the Prākrit :—

Kujula Kasasa — Nos. II and III.

Kuyula Kaphsasa — No. IV.

— la Kaüsa — new coins A and B.

I propose to treat all these forms, which should be in the nominative respectively Kasa, Kaphsa, and Kaü (?) as variants of a simple name, written in Greek as Kadphises or Kadaphes. Cunningham also identified Kadaphes with Kadphises. "Kozola-Kadaphes I take," he observes, "to be only a variant spelling of the same king's name, on the issue of a different mint. The head seems to be imitated from the coins of Augustus, his contemporary." (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, p. 46.)

KUṢANA.

VI.

KADAPHES.

Buddha Type.

Thin copper or bronze coin; diam. .62; wt. 24 gr. Obtained on the Pūñc (Punch) border of the Hazāra District. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. King, or god, standing, wearing diadem and fillet, holding spear upright in l. hand; r. arm extended. Peculiar mon. in l. field behind figure. Greek legend, of which only *XO* is legible, probably part of *XOPANΣY*.

Rev. Seated figure of Buddha, cross-legged; r. hand raised, holding?; l. hand on hip. A triangle (? delta) under elbow of r. arm. Kharōṣṭhī legend all round margin; the only characters plainly legible being *kadaça* below the figure. The *ka* is certain; the *da* may possibly be *na*; and the *ça*, having a loop at foot, may be read as *çu*.

This interesting coin is closely related to, though materially

different from, the B coin of the Buddha type, of Kadaphes recently described by me.¹

That coin had the obverse device of Çiva and the bull. The coin now published has a figure standing to r., and no bull. The fragmentary Greek legend Χο induces me to ascribe the coin to Kadaphes, who transliterated *khuṣanasa* by ΧοΠΑΝΣΥ. I have already intimated that Kadaphes and Kadphises I. may prove to be the same person. I regret that I am unable to offer any interpretation of the imperfect Kharōṣṭhī legend.

KUṢANA.

VII.

HUVIṢKA.

Brass, or very pale bronze. Diameter .65. Weight 58 grs. Collected in Hazāra District. [RAWLINS].

Obv. King, seated on throne, looking r.

Three-pronged mon. to l. The plethoric figure of the king recalls the coins of Kadphises II. (*B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXV, 6, 7).

Greek legend on l., ο(?)οο; on r., ·OK(?)AH(?).

The coin has been worn as an ornament, and a hole above the king's head has damaged one or two letters. There are certainly two οs to l., and traces of a third. On the r., the first legible character is certainly ο, and the third is A. The second and fourth are doubtful.

Rev. Two figures, standing, facing each other, the head of that to r. having been punched out. Both are clad alike in coats reaching to the knee. The figure to r. wears a sword.

Greek legend, beginning from r. top, is ·ΑΓ·ο οΑΝΑΔΑο, which should probably be read [ΒΙΖ]ΑΓ·ο οΑΝΑΔΑο. The second name is certain. The Δ is the fifth form, and the Ν the third form in Cunningham's table of the Indo-Scythic Greek Alphabet (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, Pl. X). The letters ΑΓ·ο are also certain on the original coin.

This is a very peculiar piece. The effigy of ΒΙΖΑΓ·ο (Viçākha, a son and impersonation of Skanda) has hitherto been known only on coins of Huviṣka, associated with Skanda Kumāra (ΣΚΑΝΔο ΚΟΜΑΡο); and with Mahāsēna (ΜΑΑΣΗΝο). (*B. M. Catal.*, p. LXVI, 149, 150; Pl. XXXVIII, 22-24).

The name οΑΝΑΔΑο is new. The closely related form οΑΝΙΝΔΑ (or οΑΝΙΝΔο) is found on some rare coins of Huviṣka associated with a figure of the Goddess Nike.

οΑΝΑΔΑο may possibly be only a variant of οΑΝΙΝΔο, but is more probably a male deity, the star Vanañt. The effigy on the new

¹ "Num. Notes and Novelties, No. II" in No. 4 of Part I of this *Journal* for 1897.

coin seems to be male, rather than female, and there is no *iota* in the name. I suggest this identification with reference to Dr. Stein's remarks on $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$, which are as follows:—

“With Verethraghna we may connect most appropriately the winged Goddess, who appears in the distinct type of a Nike holding wreath and trophy-stand on some rare gold coins of Ooerki (see No. VIII; Cat. p. 147). Her name, which, with a slight variation, is written both $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ and $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\circ$, induces me, in conjunction with the very characteristic type, to identify her with the female genius, whose name *vanaiñti uparatât* ‘victorious superiority’ is invariably coupled in all formulas and invocations of the Avesta with that of *Verethraghna* (comp., e.g., Yaçna I. 6, Vîspered I, 6, Yasht XIV, \circ).

We prefer this explanation all the more to the hitherto accepted theory, which identified $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ with the star Vanañt (a male deity!), as it disposes effectually with [*sic*] the two difficulties involved by the latter; both the female representation of $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ and the Iota of the name are now easily accounted for, the former by the feminine gender of *vanaiñti* (*uparatât*), and the latter by the well-known phonetic influence of epenthetic *i*.”¹

Inasmuch as the deity $\text{BIZ}\Gamma\circ$ is found only on coins of Huviška, and the king's effigy is more like that of Huviška than that of Kaniška, I am of opinion that this coin with the effigies of $\text{BIZ}\Gamma\circ$ and $\circ\text{ANA}\Delta\text{A}\circ$ should be ascribed to Huviška.

UNKNOWN DYNASTY (? of Odumbara.)

VIII.

BHĀNUMITRA.

Moderately thick die-struck silver (? base) coin. Diam. .75. Wt. 72 gr. [TALBOT.]

Obv. Male figure standing to l., wearing hat and tunic; l. hand on hip, r. arm extended across spear. Remains of legend outside spear. Behind figure, a snake on end.

Rev. A small elephant, with rider, in upper l. field, proceeding to l.

Legend in early Brāhmī characters श्रीभानुमित्रस, *Śrī-Bhānumitrassa*. The word *Śrī* is faint, to the l. of the rider's head, but clearly visible on the original coin. The upper part of the *m* is separated from the lower.

The reading of the reverse legend appears to be certain. The characters seem not to be earlier than B. C. 100 or later than A. D. 100.

This coin belongs to a group which has been described by Cunningham in association with the ancient coins of Odumbara or Kāngra.

The coins described by him are those of:—

Rāja Mahādēva	...	C. Anc. I. p. 68,	Pl. IV, 5.
Rāja Rudra Varma	...	<i>ibid.</i> „	Pl. IV, 6.
Rāja Aja Mitra	...	„	p. 69, Pl. IV, 7.

¹ “Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins,” Stein (*Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August, 1887).

Rāja Mahi Mitra	...	<i>ibid.</i>	p. 69,	Pl. IV, 8, 9.
Rāja ? Dhara	...	„	„	Pl. IV, 10.
Rāja Bhānu Mitra	...	„	p. 70,	Pl. IV, 12.
Ditto do.	...	„	„	Pl. IV, 13.

But none of Cunningham's coins agrees exactly with Mr. Talbot's. The male figure device (which Cunningham calls reverse) of his figure 10 is identical with that of the piece now published, but the elephant side of Cunningham's coin had the legend in Kharōṣṭhī, not in Brāhmī characters.

Cunningham's fig. 12 depicts a coin which must, I think, be attributed to the same king as Mr. Talbot's coin. It is thus described:—

“Plate IV, Fig. 12. Æ. 0·55, weight 32 grains. Author.

Obv.—Elephant to l. Arian legend, *Rajna Bhānu Mitasa*.

Rev.—Bodhi tree and two Symbols, snake below. Indian legend, [*Rajna*] *Bhānu Mitasa*.”

The combination of the snake and elephant connects it with Mr. Talbot's coin.

But I am doubtful as to the attribution of Cunningham's figure 13, which is thus described:—

“Plate IV., Fig. 13. Æ. 0·4. Weight 16 grains. Author.

Obv.—Symbols as on reverse of figure 12. Indian legend *Bhānu Mitasa*.

Rev.—Rayed disc of Sun (*Bhānu*) above a Buddhist railing.”

So far as I can see, the symbols on fig. 13 are not exactly the same as those on the reverse of figure 12.

In fact, the coin depicted in Plate IV, 13, is a duplicate of the small coin of Bhānumitra depicted in Plate VII, 9, among the Pañcāla or Ahichatra coins. The Mitra coins do not invariably exhibit the characteristic incuse square.

When describing a small Bull and Bodhi-tree coin of [A] gi Mitra with incuse, Cunningham (Pl. VII, 16, page 83) observes that “this coin may, perhaps, belong to the Panjâb.”

Mr. L. White King possesses two minute coins of Bhadra Ghōṣa. One, of which I have a duplicate, is like Cunningham's Pl. VII, 11, with incuse distinct. The other has no distinct incuse.

The small coin of Bhānumitra figured in *J. A. S. B.* Pt. I for 1880 (Vol. XLIX), Pl. III, 8, shows the incuse square distinctly, and agrees in this respect with the ordinary Ahichatra coins. That piece was found at Ahichatra. Otherwise it agrees with Cunningham's Pl. IV, 13, and VII, 9, neither of which has any distinct incuse square.

Cunningham's treatment of the various Mitra coins of Ayōdhyā, Ahichatra, and the Panjab leaves much to be desired.

The Ahichatra coins were very fully described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlleyle in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIX, for 1880, Pt. I. pp. 27, 87, 138, Plates III, VII, VIII, IX, XVI, XVII.

The relations between the various groups of Mitra coins are extremely obscure.

The Lahore Museum (*Catal.*, Part III, p. 126) possesses three specimens of Bhānumitra's coinage. No. 1, apparently a copper coin, weight 15 grains, and diam. .53. The type seems to be the same as that of Mr. Talbot's coin. No. 2, weight 35, diam. .50, resembles Cunningham's Pl. IV, 12. No. 3, weight 42, diam. .6, seems to be a slight variety of No. 2.

The Indian Museum seems to possess no coins of Bhānumitra.

IX.

TĀRAMĀṆA.

Copper. Diam. .65. Wt. 55 gr. Bought from Mr. Rodgers, who obtained the coin at Hōshyārpur in the lower hills of the Jālandhar District, Panjab. [V. A. SMITH.]

Obv. King standing to front, r. arm bent, and probably holding arrow or sword; body bent at waist; l. hand grasping by middle bow with string turned outwards. Obscure, illegible characters under king's arm.

Rev. Sun in upper field, Below, तौर, Tōra, in large bold characters.

Dotted circle.

This coin is a variety of the hitherto unique coin belonging to Mr. Theobald, which was published by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. IX. (VII), fig. 17, and again by me in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 198, with woodcut. The coin first published had the string of the bow turned inwards.

X.

WHITE HUN.

Copper or bronze, rather thick; diam. .65; weight 49 gr. [RAWLINS].

Obv.—Bust to r. Faint legend in small apparently Brāhmī characters in front of face, पल—Pala—?

Rev.—Device obscure; it seems to me intended for a cock standing to l., with tail raised. Dotted circle.

This coin clearly belongs to the White Hun group, but I cannot further assign it.

XI.

UNKNOWN.

Base metal. Diam. .55. Wt. 43 gr. From Rāwalpindī. [V. A. SMITH].

Obv.—Concave, with a peculiar wheel-like device.

Rev. Convex blank.

I cannot guess what this piece is, and am not certain that it is a coin.

It seems to belong to the class noticed by Thomas in the following words :—

“In this instance, the square die is driven home upon one surface so as to give the coin a concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank. The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil. These coins are, as far as I know, unpublished; I have never met with any in the entire course of my own somewhat comprehensive search after local antiquities, nor am I aware from what section of the country the examples I quote were obtained; they now form part of the late Lord Auckland’s collection in the British Museum. They are composed of silver considerably alloyed, and weigh from thirty-five up to forty-one grains.” (*Prinsep’s Essays*, Vol. I, 213).

The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service (Retired)*.

[Read March, 1898.]

The following article is in continuation of that appearing on pp. 136–212 of the *Journal* for 1896, Vol. LXV Part I.

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CHAPTER IV.

Farrukhsiyar.

1. THE MARCH FROM ĀGRAH TO DIHLĪ.

In the confusion and the darkness the Jāts plundered impartially the baggage of both armies. No fitting resting-place for the prince could be found, nothing but a dirty screen, all black from the smoke of cooking, and a small wooden platform. On this latter Farrukhsiyar seated himself and received the homage of his officers. It was not till three days afterwards that Sa’d-ullāh Khān (son of ‘Ināyat-ullāh Khān), who had been Jahāndār Shāh’s Lord Steward, produced the late sovereign’s duplicate set of tents, which owing to their erection within a

walled garden, had escaped the plunderers. These were put up for Farrukhsiyar on the site of Jahāndār Shāh's encampment.¹

Having spent the night of the battle (14th Zū-l-Hijjah, 11th January, 1713), in the small tent erected on the field, the next morning, after a formal enthronement, Farrukhsiyar offered up his thanksgiving at the shrine of Shāh Mushtāq, and then marched one and a half kōs to his camp. The Tūrānī leaders, Cīn Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, with many others who had served in the army of Jahāndār Shāh, tendered their submission. Shari'at-ullāh Khān ('Ubaid-ullāh) was also presented by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Written orders were issued to Asad Khān and Muḥammad Yār Khān at Dihlī, and to many other sūbadārs, enjoining them to seize the fugitive Jahāndār Shāh wherever he might be found. At the end of the day His Majesty paid a visit to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān who was confined to his tents by his wounds. After the battle was over, he had been found about midnight lying naked and insensible under a heap of the slain. When informed of the victory, new life was breathed into him. The following day, the 15th (12th January), the emperor attended at the large mosque attached to Akbar's tomb at Bihishtābād Sikandra, and there heard the *Khutbah* read in his own name. More nobles and leaders now presented themselves. On this date 'Abd-ullāh Khān brought in as a prisoner A'azzu-d-dīn, who had been found hiding in the underground chambers of the mansion at Āgrah known as Dārā Shukōh's.² Public rumour asserted that Jahāndār Shāh and Zū-l-fiqār Khān had gone to Dihlī; the latter had been seen at Mathurā on the way to that place.³

On the 17th (14th January), a move was made to the neighbourhood of Bāgh Nūr Manzil, also known as Bāgh Dahrah.⁴ The stream of officers lately serving under Jahāndār Shāh continued to flow into the camp. As there was still great uncertainty about the future movements of Jahāndār Shāh, and a renewal of the struggle by Zū-l-fiqār Khān was feared, it was thought advisable to take steps to secure possession of the capital as quickly as possible. 'Abd-ullāh Khān

¹ Wārid, 148b.

² Yahyā Khān, 121 a, says that A'azzu-d-dīn and his wife were captured in a grove near Āgrah, and that Farrukhsiyar ordered them to be kept prisoners. Kām Rāj's story, 52 a, is that they were found in a milk-seller's house.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 126, Ijād, 100 b, Wārid, 148 a, Khāfī Khān, II, 724, 727.

⁴ Of this grove the only thing now left is a large well, which from its size is known as the well of the 52 water-bags (*Bāwān lāo kī kuā*)--*Tārīkh-i-Āgrah*, Ḥusainī press, Fathgarh, p. 28. The site is three miles south of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called *Khawāspurah* (private letter from Mīrzā Wiqār 'Alī Bēg, dated 20th February, 1893). The epithet Nūr Manzil was given with reference to the Emperor Jahāngīr's name, Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, *Maāşiru-l-umarā*, III, 79.

was therefore invested with the usual dress of honour and despatched on this day (14th January, 1713), upon that service. With him went Cīn Qilic Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, Hāmid Khān, Jān Niṣār Khān, Khwājā Qulī Khān, Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq, Turktāz Khān, and others. His orders were to attach all the property of the men belonging to the other side. An imperial rescript was also sent to Asad Khān by the hand of Ikhlāṣ Khān. It was then Farrukhsiyar's intention to follow as speedily as possible with the rest of his troops.¹

On the 18th (15th January, 1713), another visit was paid to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. The 19th was passed at the Tāj, where the tombs of Shāhjahān and his queen, Mumtāz-i-Maḥal, were visited. The Government of Akbarābād was confirmed to Sayyid Amīr Khān, Thaṭhawī, or Sindhī, (grandson of Qāsim Khān, Namakīn).² The jizyah, or poll-tax, was abolished after it had been levied for thirty-four years. On the 20th submissive letters were received from Asad Khān at Dihlī, reporting the imprisonment of Jahāndār Shāh and the restraint placed on Zū-l-fiqār Khān. As Farrukhsiyar could not trust Asad Khān, it was decided to await full reports from 'Abd-ullāh Khān before any further action was taken. On the 22nd the emperor attended the public prayers at the Great Mosque near the *Cauk*, or market-place, in the city of Āgrah, gold and silver coins being scattered on the way. The next day 'Abd-ullāh Khān sent the good news from Dihlī that Jahāndār Shāh had been made a prisoner and Zū-l-fiqār Khān dissuaded from continuing his resistance. As there was no longer the same pressing necessity for haste, re-assuring letters were sent to Asad Khān, and a leisurely advance to Dihlī was ordered by the usual stages.³

On the 25th (22nd January, 1713), a start was made for Dihlī, the first camp being near Sikandrah. The other marches were, 27th, Sarāe Godrayah, 1st Muḥarram, Irādatnagar, 3rd, a place near Sarāe 'Azīm-ābād, between Mathurā (Islāmābād) and Bindrāban, 5th, Siyāi, 6th Shērgarh, 8th, Shāhpur, 9th, Sultānpur, 11th, near Fathpur, 12th, near Qabūlpur, 13th, Isma'īlpur, 15th (10th February, 1713), a grove in Khizrābād, five miles south of Dihlī city.⁴

¹ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 150, 151, Kāmwar Khān, 127, Ijād, 104 b, Khāfī Khān, II, 727.

² For this man, see Blochmann, *Āin*, 470, and *Ma'āṣiru-l-umāra*, III, 74. The rock-salt plates and bottles from which he got his nickname are described in Anand Rām's *Mirātu-l-iṣṭilāḥ*. For Amīr Khān himself, see *M-ul-U*, I, 303.

³ For abolition of *Jizyah*, see B. M. No. 1690, fol. 163.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 127, 128, Ijād, 105 a. Khāfī Khān, II, 728 and *Ma'āṣir*, I, 318, say the army arrived on the 14th Muḥarram at Bārahpulāh, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles nearer the city (Carr Stephen, plate 1). Sarāe Godrayah, Irādatnagar and Shērgarh, I have not traced. Mathurā and Bindrāban are well known. Siyāi (Seyee) and

2. 'ABD-ULLĀH KHĀN AT DIHLĪ.

We now return to Dihlī. The first news of Jahāndār Shāh's defeat at Āgrah was received at Dihlī after midday on the 15th Zū-l-Hijjah (12th January, 1713). We have already described the subsequent arrival there of Zū-l-fiqār Khān and Jahāndār Shāh, and the measures adopted by Asad Khān. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, who started from Āgrah on the 17th arrived at Bārapula near Dihlī on the 25th Zū-l-Hijjah. The principal men of the city came out to pay their respects,¹ and on the same day Zū-l-fiqār Khān, to whom Ikhlāṣ Khān had been sent, rode out to the camp. His interview with the new wazir lasted over an hour. The Sayyids never doubted for a moment that Asad Khān and his son, as soon as they presented themselves, would be admitted to favour and high office. Thus they thought it wisest for their own future benefit, to put the two men under an obligation by acting as their introducers. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān promised his predecessor that, if he would entrust himself to his and his brother's care, they would arrange that he and his father should not only be presented to the new emperor, but that not a hair of their heads should be injured.² Visitors returning from the Nawāb's camp met at the Turkmān gate of the city³ the retinue of Mahābat Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, who had just been released from prison along with Jahāndār Shāh's other prisoners. Amīnu-d-dīn Khān, who was one of them, found his way to Mathurā and was presented there to Farrukhsiyar on the 3rd Muḥarram (29th January).⁴

On the 26th Zū-l-Hijjah, 'Abd-ullāh Khān entered the city and occupied the mansion known as Ja'far Khan's.⁵ He busied himself in restoring order in the capital and the rest of the country. Khwāja Husain (Khān Daurān), Hifz-ullāh Khān (son of Murtaẓā Khān), Murīd Khān and other partisans of the late emperor were seized and

Shāhpur are on Sheet No. 50, Sultānpur, Fathpur (F. Biloc, Qabūlpur, and Isma'ilpur on Sheet No. 49 of the Indian Atlas.

¹ Among others Mīrzā Muḥammad, the historian, with his brother and a cousin, was presented to the Nawāb by Luṭf-ullāh Khān Ṣādiq. Bārahpulāh is $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of the Dihlī gate of the modern city (Carr Stephen, Plate 1 and p. 209).

² Yahyā Khān, 121b, calls the overtures made by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān to Asad Khān his "deceit" (*farēb*).

³ This gate is on the south side of the city, having the Dihlī gate between it and the river. See Constable's "Hand Atlas," Plate 47, and Carr Stephen, 244.

⁴ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 153, 157, Kāmwar Khān, 129, Yār Muḥammad, 26, Khāfī Khān, II, 732, *M.-ul-u.*, I, 317.

⁵ It had belonged to Kokaltāsh Khān and was sometimes called 'Alī Mardān Khān's. Aẓam Shāh had owned it in 'Ālamgīr's reign—(B.M. 1690, fol. 162a). It was afterwards granted to 'Abd-ullāh Khān.

their property confiscated. The same course was adopted with the estate of the late Kokaltāsh Khān ('Alī Murād). Sabhā Cand, Zū-l-fiqār Khān's chief man of business, who had been promoted by him to the office of *dīwān* of the Khālīṣah, or Imperial Revenue Office, with the title of Rājah, was summoned by 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Finding that this man was sent for, Zū-l-fiqār Khān began to fear for himself, and he told Sabhā Cand not to obey the order. 'Abd-ullāh Khān sent re-assuring messages and advised the ex-wazir not to interfere. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was not satisfied, until in a few days *farmāns* arrived, addressed to himself and his father, promising them the new emperor's favour. Some of these letters went so far as to promise his restoration to the office of wazir. As there was no other way out of the difficulty, Sabhā Cand was now sent in charge of Dāwar Dād Khān to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Sabhā Cand was put into prison and his house confiscated.¹

3. DEATH OF ZŪ-L-FIQĀR KHĀN.

Although one month had barely elapsed since Farrukhsiyar had won an empire almost entirely by the exertions of the two Sayyid brothers, a party adverse to them had already been formed in the imperial camp. At its head was 'Ubaid-ullāh, Sharī'at-ullāh Khān,² a Tūrānī, who when *qāzī* of Dhākah (Dacca) had acquired great influence over Farrukhsiyar. Allied with him were other personal friends and dependents of the new emperor, the principal man being Khawāja 'Āṣim (Ashraf Khān),³ a native of Āgrah. Sharī'at-ullāh Khān, although possessing little capacity for high office, was a bold ambitious man, whose chief object was to clear his own road to power by destroying as many as possible of the old nobility, and sowing in Farrukhsiyar's heart the seeds of suspicion against the Sayyids, whom he hoped soon to supplant.⁴

When it was known in Farrukhsiyar's entourage that Zū-l-fiqār Khān had visited 'Abd-ullāh Khān and that some kind of friendly proposals had been interchanged, it was resolved to interfere at once.⁵ The

¹ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 158.

² Afterwards Mīr Jumlaḥ. To give him a status in the court he had been, made *dārōgha* of the pages (Khawāṣṣ), on the 20th Zū-l-Hijjah (17th January, 1713) and the title of 'Ibād-ullāh Khān was conferred on the 26th of that month.

³ Afterwards Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, who was made *dārōgha* of the Audience Hall on the 1st Muḥarram (27th January, 1713).

⁴ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 158, 159.

⁵ Yahyā Khān, 121b, makes out that Farrukhsiyar asked the Sayyids for advice as to the conduct to be pursued towards Jahāndār Shāh, Asad Khān, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Husain Alī Khān and Lācīn Bēg held that on no

man selected as their envoy was one Muḥammad Ja'far, who had long been steward to Farrukhsiyar and had lately been raised to the title of Taqarrub Khān. As he was a native of Īrān, it was thought that he would be more trusted than any one else by Asad Khān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who were also from that country. Taqarrub Khān swore the most solemn oaths on the *qurān* that no harm should happen to Asad Khān or his son. He hinted to them that it was dangerous to accept an introduction through the Sayyid brothers, as in secret Farrukhsiyar was already displeased with them, and was not likely to turn a gracious ear to any representation from them. Persuaded by these arguments, Asad Khān proposed that he and Zū-l-fiqār Khān should set out together. His son preferred that, in the first instance, Asad Khān should go alone, that they might see what sort of fate was in store for them. Asad Khān would not listen to any such proposal. He was convinced that, as their services could not be dispensed with, no harm could come to them. Finally on the 15th Muḥarram the two nobles accompanied Taqarrub Khān to the camp at Khizrābād and passed the night in their own tents, it being arranged that they should be received in the morning. Their too ready acquiescence bears out the truth of the proverb, "When Death arrives, the physician becomes a simpleton."¹

We are told by Wārid, I know not with what amount of truth, that after Zū-l-fiqār Khān's death the hand which Taqarrub Khān had employed in taking the false oath on the *qurān* began at once to wither. He could not move it, and it grew continually worse. He lived on asses' milk, he tried every remedy, nothing was of the least use. Thus the hand remained a witness to his false oath until three years afterwards his end came.²

On the 16th Muḥarram the presentation of Asad Khān and his son took place. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as he entered the imperial enclosure, felt a presentiment of his impending doom. He said to his father that he would withdraw and greet the Emperor the next day, when on his march into the city. Asad Khān lost his temper and gave a sharp answer. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was silenced, and they entered the enclosure

account could they be allowed to live. Thereupon Farrukhsiyar decided that Asad Khān was innocent; but they were at liberty to kill the other two.

¹ Yaḥyā Khān, 121b, *cūn qazā āyad, ṭabīb ablah shawad*. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 159, Kāmwar Khān, 129, Wārid, 113, Khāfī Khān, II, 732, 733.

² T. Kh. died on the 9th Rabi' II, 1128, 1st April, 1716, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*. Mīrzā Mḥd., 261, says he died of *diqq* (hectic fever, consumption, atrophy), of which he had been seriously ill for one year. He left sons, one of whom, Tāhir Khān, was on the 7th Jumādī II, 1128 H. created Taqarrub Khān, see Kāmwar Khān, 163, 164.

together.¹ Asad Khān went into the Justice Hall and sat down. His presence was announced to the Emperor. Farrukhsiyar came from the Chaplet tent (*tasbīḥ-khāna*) and Asad Khān rose, made his bow, and pronounced his salutation. The emperor advanced quickly, embraced him, took his two hands, and seated him close to himself. Many flattering remarks were pronounced and robes and jewels were brought, with which he was then and there invested. Asad Khān now said, “I have brought a culprit with me, may I hope for the pardon of his offences?” The Emperor replied, “Brother, let him be brought in.” Zū-l-fiqār Khān came in, unarmed, his two hands tied together, and stood before the sovereign. Farrukhsiyar, making a gesture of repugnance at seeing his hands tied, ordered them in an agitated voice to be untied. The Khān was then told to approach. He came and fell at the emperor’s feet, but he was raised up and embraced and kindly spoken to. A robe of honour and jewels were brought for him. Farrukhsiyar then, addressing Asad Khān, said that he was just on the point of starting for a visit to the shrine of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya, ² he (Asad Khān) had better go home and “Brother,” that is, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, would remain. Before their arrival, the orders for the visit to the shrine had been given, and the imperial retinue and the men of the *Haft caukī* (personal guard) had all assembled.³

Asad Khān returned to his tents and Zū-l-fiqār Khān remained in the emperor’s camp. Farrukhsiyar rose and went out, saying to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, “I am going now; I must get something to eat and see “to my equipage; I will send some food for you, you can eat it here.” He then went inside, leaving Zū-l-fiqār Khān seated with Khwāja ‘Āṣim.⁴ In a few moments trays from the imperial table were brought. Fearing that the food might be poisoned, Zū-l-fiqār Khān hesitated to eat. Khwāja ‘Āṣim, penetrating his thoughts, said: “If his lordship permit, this slave, too, will take a share.” Thus reassured Zū-l-fiqār

¹ Mīrzā Muḥammad’s account of Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s death was obtained from a friend, whose truthfulness he fully believed in. This gentleman had gone that morning, in Indian fashion, with a *dālī* or basket of fruit and vegetables from his own garden, to be laid at the new emperor’s feet. By this means he had been admitted into the Privy Chamber and Justice Hall. Before he could come out, the approach of Asad Khān and his son was announced. When he tried to make his exit, he found that of those inside no one was allowed to leave the place. He was thus a witness of all that happened (M. Mhd., 161, 162).

² Kāmwar Khān, 130, says “the Qutbu-l-aqtāb,” i. e., the shrine of Khwāja Qutbu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyārī.

³ M. Mhd., 160-2, Ijād 119 b, Wārid, 114.

⁴ He had just been made Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Ijād, 119 a. His titles were afterwards added to, and he became Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Manṣūr Jang.

Khān began to eat. The Khawāja then remarked that to eat food in the tent used as Hall of Justice was not fitting, had they not better move to the screens outside and eat there? It so happened that two canvas screens had been put up in the space before the Hall of Justice, an entrance having been left at one end only. The two nobles came out. As soon as Zū-l-fiqār Khān had entered within the screens, and while Khawāja ‘Āsim was still outside them, the tent-pitchers with the greatest expedition brought the screens together and closed the entrance. In an instant about two hundred men, each armed with sword and shield, sprang from their place of concealment and drew up round the screen, shoulder to shoulder, leaving no space whatever between them. When the capture was reported to Farrukhsiyar who was seated in the Chaplet tent (*tasbīh-khāna*), ‘Ibād-ullāh Khān, *dārōgha* of the Pages,¹ was sent out. Entering between the screens, he said loudly, “His Majesty asks what reason there was for you to imprison Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and inflict injury on his followers. Does it accord with the rules of loyalty and of submission to a gracious master to act thus to his sons?” Zū-l-fiqār Khān answered:—

“The imprisonment of Kām Bakhsh was by his father’s order; I was ‘Ālamgīr’s servant and Kām Bakhsh, his son. If he had told me to make my father a prisoner, I should have obeyed.”

After each answer ‘Ibād-ullāh Khān returned to Farrukhsiyar and came back with a new demand. The questions and answers continued on this wise as follows:

“You were generalissimo and chief adviser of Muḥammad A‘zam Shāh. Was it fitting for a general to flee, as you did, and leave his prince all alone?”

“As long as he was alive, I remained with him; when he was slain, what right had I to continue a contest in the field.”

“What was your quarrel with the martyred Prince, (*i.e.* ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, Farrukhsiyar’s father)?”

“He did not look on me with favour, thus I was not in a position to join his side. All the officers of the State took one side or another. I, too, took a side; nor did I thereby commit any crime.”

“Why did you kill Mukhlis Khān and Rustam Dil Khān?”

“I had nothing to do with that matter. These things were done on the advice and by the instigation of Kokaltāsh Khān.”

“All the other princes survive: what was Muḥammad Karīm’s offence that you should seize him, bring him to your house, and slay

¹ Afterwards Mīr Jumlah, Mu‘azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muzaffar Jang.

“him? Are you not aware that he was our brother, and that his blood cannot go unavenged?”¹

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, by this time, knew that his death was resolved on, and that any further display of meekness would avail him nothing. He changed his tone and returning taunt for taunt, cursed Farrukhsiyar and said, “If you want to kill me, kill me in any way you like, what is the use of all this talk.” Upon this Lācīn Beg and several Qalmāq slaves² fell upon him, threw him to the ground, twisted the strap from a shield round his throat and strangled him. The others stamped upon his chest till the breath left him. But to make quite sure a dagger was plunged into his body several times. Ropes were tied to his feet and he was dragged to the outside of the railing in front of the public Audience Hall. There the body was left exposed. Officials were deputed to confiscate the houses and property of both father and son. Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s retinue, which was drawn up outside the artillery park at the entrance of the camp, dispersed on hearing what had happened, and the men sought safety wherever they could find it. All this took place at the time of afternoon prayer.³

The official statement of the case against Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as found in Ījād, whose narrative was corrected weekly by Farrukhsiyar himself, follows the lines of the conversation reproduced above. The misleading letters and messages sent to him through Taqarrub Khān are exultingly referred to as an exhibition of consummate policy and statesmanship.⁴

4. DEATH OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

On the same day that saw the end of Zū-l-fiqār Khān (16th Muḥarram, 1125 H., 11th Feb., 1713), Saif-ullāh Khān⁵ was sent to the citadel with a letter in Farrukhsiyar’s own hand-writing addressed to Muḥammad Yār Khān. The *nāẓim*, although sorrowful at Jahāndār Shāh’s fate, complied with the order and admitted the messengers. When the group of men entered the prison room, Lāl Kumwār shrieked,

¹ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 163-166.

² The name is sometimes given as Ilācī Bēg and Dilācīn Bēg. Ījād, 119 b, and Kāmwar Khān, 130, say “Nūr Bēg and other Qalmāqs of the brotherhood of Ilācīn Beg.” Khāfī Khān, II, 734, has Lācīn Bēg (Bahādur Dil Khān) “or as some say, one of the celās.” Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 172, describes the man as a servant of Khawāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, son of Maulānā Sharf Husain, Kujkīyah(?) He received the title of Bahādur Dil Khān at the request of Mīr Jumlah.

³ M. Mhd. 166, Khāfī Khān, II, 734.

⁴ Ījād, 116 a, Khizānah-i-‘āmirah, 28.

⁵ B.M. No. 1690, fol. 162 a says Taqarrub Khān (*alias* Nuṣrat Khān), Yahyā Bēg, was the messenger.

clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahāndār Shāh, they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off. Word was sent to the *nāẓim* that life was extinct, that an executioner was needed to cut off the head. Muḥammad Yār Khān, who was standing down below, bathed in cold perspiration, answered “What is left for an executioner to do? Cut off his head, and carry it to His Majesty.” They cut it off. The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyāna*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwān*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the emperor’s tents, alongside the body of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. Lāl Kumwār was sent to the settlement of Suhāgpura, where the widows and families of deceased emperors lived in retirement.¹

5. PROCESSION INTO DIHLĪ.

Next morning, the 17th Muḥarram (12th February, 1713), Farrukh-siyar left Khizrābād and marching in state into Dihlī took possession of the palace and its citadel. The artillery of all sorts went in front. Behind the guns came the new emperor mounted on an elephant, and at his back sat ‘Ibād-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah) waving a peacock fan over his master’s head. Largesse was scattered among the crowd as he went by. The head of Jahāndār Shāh was carried on the point of a long bambu held by an executioner seated on an elephant; his body was laid across the back of another elephant. The corpse of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, with head and feet bare, was tied by the feet to the tail of a third elephant. These followed about one hundred yards behind the elephant on which the emperor rode. The procession was met by Sayyid ‘Abd-ullāh Khān (now Quṭbu-l-mulk) near the city wall, at the inside of the Dihlī gate. The crowd in the streets was immense, a greater had rarely been seen. Some of the spectators were unable to restrain their grief, their eyes filled with tears, lumps formed in their throats, and they muttered to each other, under their breath,

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 130, Ijād, 122 a, Khāfi Khān, II, 734, Khushḥāl Cand, 395 a, Rustam ‘Alī, 225 b. Suhāgpura (Hamlet of Happy Wives) or the *Bēwa-Khāna* (Widow-house) was one of the establishments (*Kārkhānājāt*) attached to the Court “where in the practice of resignation they pass their lives, receiving rations “and a monthly allowance,” *Dastūru-l-‘amal*, B. M. No. 6598, fol. 55 a. The name, Suhāgpura, may have been due to delicacy for the feelings of the ladies, or it was perhaps given in derision.

“Glory be to God! Yesterday lords over thousands, to-day fallen into this calamity.”¹

The bodies of the unfortunate Jahāndār Shāh and of his wazir were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Dihlī gate of the palace. Asad Khān's family, taking with them nothing but the clothes they had on, were removed in palkis from their house to one known as the *pēshkhāna* of Khān Jahān where they were kept under surveillance; and Taqarrub Khān, the new *Khānsāmān* or Lord Steward, brought in two elephants loaded with the jewels and jewelled vessels from Asad Khān's house, and also sixty-two of his horses. The fallen viceroy himself had been forced to appear in the triumphal procession into Dihlī, seated in a paliki and accompanied by a few men on foot, all that was left of his former grandeur. At the Akbarābādī mosque he was halted, and there he sat in his paliki unheeded for four or five hours, until Farrukhsiyar ordered his removal with his women to the office rooms of the Dīwān above referred to. Some temporary screens were put up, and there he and his family sought shelter. Food was sent to them at night by Husain 'Alī Khān.²

It was not till the 19th (14th February, 1713), that Arslān Khān received orders to bury the bodies of the murdered Jahāndār Shāh and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. The prince was laid in the vault of the emperor Humāyūn's tomb, at the side of other members of the family. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's remains were interred close to the shrine of Shaikh 'Aṭā-ullāh, which is situated at the gateway of the same tomb. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was a little over fifty-nine (lunar) years of age at the time of his death; he left no sons. No memorial was erected over him for several years. At length some of his eunuchs, who had been transferred to Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, mentioned this fact to their new master. The Sayyid ordered a tomb to be built, and on a tablet were inscribed the following lines, composed by Asad Khān:—

هاتف شام غریبان با دو چشم خون نشان
گفت ابوالعیم اسماعیل را قربان نمود

¹ Mīrzā Mhd., 168, Ijād, 123, Khūshhāl Cand, 395-b. The Dihlī gate is on the south side of the city, it is the one nearest the Jumna. Mīrzā Muḥammad and his brother witnessed the entry into Dihlī from the roof of the Akbarābādī mosque, which is in the Faiz Bāzār, the street running north and south from the Dihlī gate of the city to the Dihlī gate of the fort. (*Āṣāru-ṣ-ṣanādīd*, 70, Carr Stephen, 246, 248). Khūshhāl Cand, also, was one of the onlookers and “into the skirt of this humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven māshas.”

² Kāmwar Khān, 131, Ijād, 124-b, Khāfī Khān, II, 734, B. M. No. 1690, fol. 162-b.

i.e., “A hidden voice, lamenting with blood suffused eyes, said, ‘Ibrāhīm made of Ismā’il a sacrifice’” (1125-H.).¹

In connection with these lines, Wārid tells a story in praise of Asad Khān’s strength of mind and vigour of intellect, even at the extreme age that he had then reached, which, if true, would seem rather to prove his want of common feeling. At the moment that his son’s death was announced to him, he hung his head for a little while, and then said to the bystanders, “My thoughts repeatedly recur to ‘the words ‘Ibrāhīm made of ‘Ismā’il a sacrifice.’” As the numerical value of the letters in these words accords with the year of Zū-l-fiqār’s death, the coincidence, if the words came spontaneously into his mind, was very wonderful. If not, this excogitating of a numerical puzzle was a curious use of the first moments following the news of an eldest son’s violent death. As there was no member of the family left to support its name and fame, and Asad Khān now disappears from our history, it will be sufficient to note that he survived until the 25th Jumādi II 1128 H. (15th June, 1716), when he passed away at the great age of eighty-eight lunar years.²

Zū-l-fiqār Khān had obtained great renown as a soldier in the Dakhin, and there can be no question that he was a man of great experience in matters of state. But during the period that we are treating, commencing with the battle between A’zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh in 1707, his generalship was prudently displayed more in furthering his own interests than in winning battles for the master that he might be serving at the moment. Dānishmand Khān (‘Alī) has a passage, taunting him with his conduct in the battle of Jājau, and accusing him of acting on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour. An anecdotist³ states that Zū-l-fiqār Khān offered the poet and historian a large sum if he would erase this passage from his work, but to ‘Alī’s credit be it said, the words still stand in the copies which have come down to us.⁴

¹ The father’s original name was Ibrāhīm and the son’s ‘Ismā’il, Ijād, 127-b Wārid, 147-a, *Khushhāl Cand*, 395-a.

² Wārid, 146-b, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, year 1128-H., Kāmwar Khān, 165. *Ma’āṣiru-l-umarā*, II, 319, says 94 years; also Khāfi Khān, II, 771, where the year is 1129-H. Kām Rāj makes the age 98 years. An allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year had been given to him by Farrukhsiyar, B. M. Or. 1690, fol., 164a.

³ Ānand Rām, *Mukhlis*, “Camanistān,” p. 22.

⁴ *Bahādur-shāh Nāma*, B. M. Or. 24, fol. 37b. “The first to show his back was “Muḥammad Ismā’il, entitled Zū-l-fiqār Khān. To A’zam Shāh’s face he made “great protestations, but instead of sacrificing his life, he made off at the earliest “moment. Receiving from an arrow a skin wound near the mouth, he cast away “his honour through excessive love of life. If he is abhorrent (*mal’ūn*) to the

The greatest blot on the life of Asad Khān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān is, however, the base ingratitude displayed towards Jahāndār Shāh. Even native historians do not defend this act of treachery. Jahāndār Shāh had many claims upon them for favours conferred; and he had placed his life in their hands. If Asad Khān had thought fit to excuse himself from joining any further in the prince's fortunes, he should have left it open for the fugitive to seek some other refuge. But he should not have seized him or delivered him over to his mortal enemy to be killed with indignity. Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khān was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long-suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome presence. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to the lowly, and of ostentation and hauteur to your equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked, or as it is put, "he threw without intermission double-six "from the dice-box of desire."¹

6. NEW OFFICIALS AND NEW APPOINTMENTS.

On the way from Āgrah to Dihlī, and after arrival at Dihlī, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān (now made Nawāb Quṭbu-l-mulk, Yaminu-d-daulah, Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Zāfar Jang, Sipāh-sālār, Yār-i-wafādār) became chief minister. The *dīwān-i-Khālīṣah*, or Exchequer Office, was given to Muḥammad Bāqir, Muta'mid Khān, who had been for a time Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh's lord steward, and then *dīwān*, or comptroller of the household, to Prince Jahān Shāh; the *dīwān-i-tan* went to Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Ṣādiq, who in Bahādur Shāh's reign was agent at Court of Prince Jahān Shāh, and in Jahāndār Shāh's was comptroller (*dīwān*) to that sovereign's eldest son, A'azzu-d-dīn. Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān, was appointed first Bakhshī with the titles of 'Umdatul-mulk, Amīru-l-umarā, Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang, Sipāh-sardār.² As the reward for the Tūrānī betrayal of Jahāndār Shāh, the place of second *bakhshī* was conferred on Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, Bahādur, who now became I'timādu-d-daulah, Nuṣrat Jang. The third *bakhshī*

"people, his excuse is notorious (*ma'lūm*). He had risen to fame and place in the "Dakhin; from his youth up, his training in valour had been in running after "the traces of the Marathas, a tribe of cats, whose occupation is robbing and "running away. He had never seen a battle between kings; had never met in "battle field with tigers from the forest of valour. In brief, to stand firm in such "violent contests you must be a hero."

¹ *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, II, 317, 318.

² Shiw Dās, fol. 2, has Manṣūr Jang, which seems a mistake.

was Afrāsyāb Khān, Bahādur, a *Wālāshāhī*, or personal follower of Farrukhsiyar, with whom he had been in Bengal and had there taught him wrestling.¹ The pay-mastership of the *Aḥadīs*² was given to Qamaru-d-din Khān, Bahādur, son of the above-named Muḥammad-Amīn Khān. Islām Khān (grandson of the late Islām Khān), formerly *Mīr Ātash* to Bahādur Shāh, who had retired from court, was restored to his rank of 5,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed to be first *Mīr Tozak*, or quarter-master-general.³ For the period of one month from the victory at Āgrah, Sa'd-ullāh Khān⁴ (son of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kashmirī) was continued in the office of *Khānsāmān*, or Lord High Steward; but at the camp in *Khizrābād*, this office was transferred to Taqarrub Khān (Muḥammad Ja'far, *Shīrāzī*), who already held the place of Private secretary.⁵

Some smaller court offices were conferred on Farrukhsiyar's personal favourites. Although these offices were of the second rank, their holders exercised, as we shall soon see, as much if not more power than the nobles who were nominally their superiors. For instance, against the opinion of Mīr Jumlah, who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, the chief minister himself found it impossible to act. The office of Confiscations and Escheats (*buyūtātī*) was given to Saif-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, a *Wālāshāhī*; *Khawāja* 'Āsim, now created *Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah*, Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Mansūr Jang, was superintendent of the Audience Hall and *Bakhshī* of the personal

¹ Afrāsyāb Khān, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, was Suhrāb, known as Mīrzā Ajmērī son of Garshāsp. He died at Dihlī on the night of the 25th Ramazān, 1130 H., 21st August, 1718, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*. His elder brother was the Rashīd Khān sent in 1124 H., 1712, to oust Ja'far Khān, *nāẓim* of Bengal, Gladwin, "Transactions," 96. Mīrzā Ajmērī was of such strength that once he lifted a small gun and its carriage out of the mud on the road from Akbarnagar to Rāj Maḥal, *Akḥbār-i-Muḥabbat*, 277.

² *Aḥadī* (one, single) means a gentleman trooper serving under no chief or noble, but directly under the Emperor.

³ This Islām Khān (d. 1144 H., 1731-2), was one Mīr Aḥmad, first Barkhurdār Khān, then Islām Khān, son of Ṣafī Khān (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), the second son of 'Abdu-s-salām, first *Ikhtisāṣ* Khān, then Islām Khān, Mashhadī, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *M.-ul-u.*, I, 162, II, 740.

⁴ His former titles were Hidāyat-ullāh Khān, and then for a time, after the death of Mun'im Khān, Bahādur Shah's Wazīr, he was Wazārat Khān. We shall speak of this man again presently.

⁵ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 169, KāmwarKhān, 121, 143, *Khāfī Khān*, II, 728, Wārid, 149b, Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 53b. *Khāfī Khān* says the third *bakhshī* was Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Bēg). Yahyā Khān, 122a, on the contrary, says that this man was made Mīr Ātash. This latter statement is confirmed by Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 170, the date being 12th *Shā'bān*, 1125 H., (2nd September, 1713), *vice* Zū-l-fiqār Khān (Ghulām 'Ali Khān).

troops, or *Wālā-shāhī*; 'Ibād-ullāh (*Sharī'at-ullāh Khān*) created Muta'midu-l-mulk, Mīr Jumlah, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, held the office of superintendent of the *Khawāṣṣ*, or attendants, and of the *ghusl-khāna*, or privy council room. Ghulām 'Ali Khān, a *wālā-shāhī*, received the title of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Bahādur, and the command of the artillery; being soon supplanted, however, (12th Sha'bān 1125 H., 2nd September, 1713), by Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Bēg). This latter had already obtained charge of the retinue (*jalau*), vice Islām Khān, who had held it in addition to his principal office of Mīr Tozak. The command of the *caukī-khāṣṣ*, or bodyguard, was made over to Faiz-ullāh Khān, a *wālā-shāhī*. Aṣinu-d-dīn Khān, Sambhalī, became head of the 'Arṣ Mukarrar, or office for the examination and confirmation of appointments. The department of Branding and Mustering (*dāgh-o-taṣṭīḥah*) was given to Sayyid Shujā'at-ullāh Khān, Bārhaḥ, sister's son of Quṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazīr. At first Fidā Khān¹ was retained, as in Bahādur Shāh's and Jahāndār Shāh's time, as *qūr-bēgī*, or head of the armoury; but the place was shortly afterwards transferred to Amīr Khān (Muḥammad Ishāq)² son of the late Amīr Khān; then in a few months he gave way in favour of Khwāja Muẓaffar, Pānipatī, now created Zafar Khān, Bahādur, who was known by the nickname of *Turrah-i-bāz*.³ The *Ṣadārat-i-kull*, or superintendence of charitable and religious grants, was given to Sayyid Afzal, who had taught Farrukhsiyar to read the *qurān*, with the title of Sayyid Afzal Khān, Bahādur, Ṣadr Jahān.⁴

The provincial governments were next provided for. Kābul was left in the hands of Nāṣir Khān, Bahādur, Nāṣir Jang. Kashmīr was taken from 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, whose *manṣab* even was cancelled, and

¹ Formerly Tahavvur Khān, then Fidā Khān, son of Ṣalābat Khān, Khwāja Mīr, Khwāfī, (d. early in 1104 H., 1693-4), *M.-ul-u.*, II, 742, 745.

² Afterwards 'Umdatul-mulk, A. K., assassinated 1159 H., 1746-7.

³ *Turrah*, waving ringlets, or the hanging end of a turban; *Turrah-i-bāz*, 'a falcon's crest.' Zafar Khān and all his men wore their turbans in the same way, with an end sticking out, and from this peculiarity the nickname arose. Khushḥāl Cand, 403b, explains that the *Turrah* were of gold and silk brocade (*bādalah*), and were used extensively as ornaments to Zafar Khān's equipage. In lot No. 698 in B. Quaritch's catalogue, No. 161, of July 1896, there was a portrait of Rōshanu-d-daulah (i.e., Zafar Khān) which I inspected. It showed a rather stout and not very tall man, with a broad and slightly heavy face, white beard and moustache, the latter slightly black still at the corners of the mouth. To the band or ribbon round the centre of the turban was attached an ornament (*sarpec*) and from it hung a long feather, falling backwards and ending in two small points. Perhaps this feather represents the *Turrah-i-bāz*?

⁴ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 169.

he was replaced by Sādāt Khān,¹ the new Emperor's father-in-law, to whom permission to govern by deputy was accorded. Zabardast Khān entitled 'Alī Mardān Khān (III), son of Ibrāhīm Khān, 'Alī Mardān Khān (II), son of Amīru-l-umarā, 'Alī Mardān Khān (I)² died at Lāhōr before he could be removed; he was replaced by 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Bahādur, (subsequently made Dilēr Jang, after his victories over the Sikhs). Multān was conferred on Quṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazīr, but Shēr Afgan Khān, Bahādur, (brother of Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Sādiq), who had been in charge on behalf of Kokaltāsh Khān ('Alī Murād) remained on as the deputy of the new governor). For the preceding fifteen or sixteen years Dihli had been held by Muḥammad Yār Khān, and he was left undisturbed. Ajmēr was made over to Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān, Bārḥah (recently created Sayyid Khān Jahān, Bahādur), maternal uncle of Quṭbu-l-mulk. Shahāmat Khān (son-in-law of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kashmīrī) who had been governor of Gujarāt in Bahādur Shāh's reign, received the new title of Mubārīz Khān and was confirmed in his old appointment. Rājah Chabelah Rām,³ a personal adherent of Farrukhsiyar's family and a brave soldier, whose welfare was dear to the heart of the Emperor, was sent at first to Āgrah, his birthplace, but on the pretext that he was unable to cope with Curāman, Jāt, he was soon replaced by Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, also a native of Āgrah. Audh was given to Sarbuland Khān, the Emperor's uncle by marriage, and Allāhābād to Khān Jahān (son of the late Khān Jahān, Bahādur, Kokaltāsh, 'Ālamgīrī). The latter had been recently removed from the Government of Bengal. His titles were now increased to A'azzu-d-daulah, Khān 'Ālam, Bahādur. Shahāmat Khān (Mubārīz Khān) had lately held Mālwah in addition to Gujarāt. Mālwah was now taken from him and given over to Rājah Jai Singh of Āmber. To conciliate the Rājah, he was told that he need not come to Court, but might march straight from his own country to his new government. 'Azīmābād Paṭnah (Bihar) was confirmed, as before' to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Amīru-l-umarā; his sister's son, Ghairat Khān, who had been left behind in charge, continuing to act as his deputy. Bengal was conferred on the infant prince, the Emperor's son, Farkhunda Bakht, entitled Jahāngīr Shāh, with the former dīwān, Murshid Qulī Khān,

¹ Mīr Muḥammad Takkī, Ḥusainī, Māzandarānī, Iṣfahānī, son of Sādāt Khān, wounded on the day of Farrukhsiyar's deposition, in Rabī' 1131 H., February 1719, and died a few days afterwards aged over eighty years — *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*.

² Mḥd. Khalīl, entitled first Zabardast Khān, then 'Alī Mardān Khān, Zik, died a little before the 9th Jumādī I, 1125 H., 2nd June, 1713, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* and Kāmwar Khān. For this family, see *M.-ul-u.*, I, 295-300, II, 795, and III, 155.

³ Chabelī Rām in Mīrzā Muḥammad; sometimes Chabelā Rām in other works.

as his deputy. The latter's titles were increased to Ja'far Khān, Naṣīrī.¹ In a few months' time, when the infant died of small pox, the *ṣūbah* was granted to Mīr Jumlah, with the same deputy. To Orissa, Murshid Qulī Khān (Ja'far Khān) was appointed *ṣūbahdār* in his own name.²

For the six provinces making up the Dakhin special arrangements were made. The supreme control of the whole country was confided to Cīn Qilic Khān (son of the late Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Fīrūz Jang), who on this occasion was created Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Fath Jang. He was empowered to select the lands to be held in jāgīr for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, and to suggest the rank (*manṣab*) to be granted to the chief landholders. His headquarters were fixed at Aurangābād. In Burhānpur his deputy was to be Shukr-ullāh Khān, to make room for whom Dāūd Khān, Pannī, was removed as deputy-governor to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt; in the two Karnātak, Sa'ādat-ullāh Khān; in Barār, 'Iwaz Khān, who was married to the late Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān's sister, and was, therefore, Nizāmu-l-mulk's uncle by marriage. Bīdar, Bījāpur, and Ḥaidarābād were to remain as before under Amīn Khān (son of Khān Zamān, Bahādur, Fath Jang, deceased), Manṣūr Khān and Yūsuf Khān respectively. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, Isfarāinī, a protégé of Mīr Jumlah, was sent as *dīwān* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the Nāẓim, of the report writers, and of the deciding of suits.³

The Sayyid brothers are generally accused of grasping all power and office for themselves and friends to the exclusion of everybody else. It is curious to note, after going through the chief appointments, that this accusation should have so little foundation. Besides the two offices which were the price of their services, they received the government of two *ṣūbahs* for themselves and one for an uncle. They seem to have

¹ Mīrzā Muḥammad gives بصیری plainly enough, but generally it is written نصیری *naṣīrī* or *nuṣairī*. Baṣīrī means "the prudent," "the circumspect," *naṣīrī*, "the ally," "the helper," and *nuṣairī* "faithful to 'Alī as was Nuṣair," or "one ready to sacrifice his life out of devotion." Anyone of these meanings would be equally appropriate.

² Mīrzā Muḥammad, 174.

³ Mīrzā Muḥammad, 177, Khāfī Khān, II, 740. Biographies of some of the above men will be found as follows. Dāūd Khān, Pannī, d. 1127 H., 1715-16, (Ma'-āṣiru-l-umarā, II, 63). Sa'ādat-ullah Khān, a Nawāyat (see Wilks, I, 242), died 1145 H., 1732-3, (*M-ul-u*, II, 513). 'Iwaz Khān, d. 1143 H., 1730-1, (*M-ul-u*, II, 832). Amīn Khān, d. 1137 H., 1724-5, (*M-ul-u*, I, 352), fourth son of Shaikh Nizām, Khān Zamān, d. 1108 H., 1696-7, (*id.* 1, 794), captor of Shambhā Jī, Mahrattah. Manṣūr Khān was a Rōz Bahānī.

obtained very little else, while the Emperor's friends and the Tūrānī chiefs obtained the lion's share. A crowd of new men were thus brought on the stage, and it is necessary for the sake of clearness that we should say something about the most prominent of them, their origin and antecedents.

7. I'TIMĀDU-DAULAH MUḤAMMAD AMĪN Khān, BAHĀDUR, NUṢRAT JANG.

Muḥammad Amīn Khān was a native of Samarqand in the kingdom of Bukhārā. His grandfather, 'Ālam Shāikh, a learned man and a descendant of the Shāikh Shahābu-d-dīn, Quraishī, Tarmanī, Ṣadiqī, of Sahrward, had two sons, Khawāja 'Ābid and Mir Bahāu-d-dīn. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang; the second son, Mir Bahāu-d-dīn, Muḥammad Amīn's father, entered the employ of the ruler of Bukhārā, and was by him executed on suspicion of complicity with his rebellious son. This event happened about the year 1098 H. (1686–7), when Mir Muḥammad Amīn must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favourably received by 'Ālamgīr, then in the Dakhin, by whom he was sent to serve with his cousin, Firūz Jang. In the forty-second year, 1109–10 H., 1697–8, when 'Ālamgīr was anxious to find in the Tūrānīs a counterpoise to Asad Khān, the Wazīr, and his son, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān was brought to Court and made *ṣadr*, or head of the charitable and religious endowments. In 1115–16 H., 1704–5, and again in 1116–17 H., his rank was raised in reward for military services, and in the very last year of 'Ālamgīr's reign (1118 H.), after defeating the Mahrattahs, he received the special addition of *Cīn Bahādur* to his other titles. Although the Tūrānīs had not shown any great zeal for his rival, A'zam Shāh, still Bahādur Shāh did not receive them into the same favour as before. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was sent to Murādābād as *faujdār*; but towards the end of the reign, he was brought back to headquarters, and took a leading part in the campaign against the Sikhs. When Jahāndār Shāh decided to march against Farrukhsiyar, Muḥammad Amīn Khān was recalled from Saharind. He was present in Jahāndār Shāh's ranks at Āgrah, but as we have related, took no serious part in the fighting. This betrayal was now rewarded by his appointment to be second Bakhshī of the empire. At this time he was about fifty-two years of age, and since the death of Firūz Jang in 1122 H., 1710–11, he had become the acknowledged leader of the Tūrānī soldiery, his cousin, Cīn Qilic Khān (Nizāmu-l-mulk), son of Firūz Jang, being about ten years his junior.¹

¹ *Ma'aṣiru-l-umarā*, I, 346.

8. *ṢAMSĀMU-D-DAULAH, KHĀN DAURĀN, BAHĀDUR, MANṢŪR JANG.*

Khawāja 'Āṣim's ancestors, emigrating from a village in *Badakh-shān*, took up their residence in *Āgrah*. Some followed the profession of soldiering, others gained reputation as men of learning and holiness, living secluded from the world. They were of the *Naqshbandī* sect. His father's name was *Khawāja Qāsim*: and as his birth took place about 1083 H., 1672-3, he was now about forty-two (lunar) years of age. He began life as a trooper of Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān's regiment, and when that prince, at the time of 'Ālamgīr's death, left Bengal for *Āgrah*, *Khawāja* 'Āṣim remained with *Farrukhsiyar* in the former province. One author asserts that he had been a play-fellow of *Farrukhsiyar*'s, but as he was at least eleven years older, this can hardly be correct. His intimacy with the prince was founded, however, on his joining him in wrestling, archery, riding, polo playing and other war-like exercises, of which *Farrukhsiyar* was passionately fond. He soon obtained such great influence with the young prince that the other courtiers complained to 'Azīmu-sh-shān. The *Khawāja* was accordingly sent for to head-quarters at *Lāhōr*. Soon after this, *Bahādur Shāh* died and *Khawāja* 'Āṣim (now become *Ashraf Khān*) upon the death of his master, 'Azīmu-sh-shān, fled to *Āgrah*. Here *Khawāja Ja'far*, his elder brother, tried to make him renounce the world and thus save his soul. For a time he stopped at home and occupied himself with *Shīrāzī* pigeon-fancying and archery. When *Farrukhsiyar* became next heir to the throne, *Khawāja* 'Āṣim "felt like a falcon newly moulted." He began to collect some men, but his doings were reported to the governor. Being warned by a disciple of a resolve to seize him, he fled at midnight in the disguise of a *faqīr*. On reaching *Paṭnah*, he was introduced by the two *Sayyids* to the prince, his former intimacy with whom he is said to have concealed. From this point the part he took has already appeared in our history.¹

Khān Daurān was the perfect type of the Indian courtier, and from this time until his death in 1151 H. 1738, he retained his position at Court, whoever was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catch word *Mērā ṣāhib!* (my good sir). To conceal his limited acquaintance with Persian, he used to begin by speaking in elegant *Urdū*, so that he might charm his hearers at the outset and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. He used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous by his own act. But he could quote occasional-

¹ *M-ul-umarā*, I. 817, *Aḥwāl-u-l-khawāqīn*, 49b, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* (year 1151 H.)

ly with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs. An elder brother had been formerly in the service of ‘Azīmu-sh-shān and was killed in the campaign in Bengal against Raḥīm Khān, Afghān. Much of Khān Daurān’s prestige may have been derived from his commanding presence. A contemporary tells us that when he walked up the audience hall with a group of followers, his head would be seen towering far above the others. From all accounts he and his brother, Muẓaffar Khān, were boasters of a most extravagant order, while their courage was more than doubtful. At any rate, they rarely put it to the test. Khān Daurān might, indeed, have qualified as a member of the Peace Society, for whenever the subject was broached, he would ask, “What is to be gained by going to war?” He was one of those men, never absent from Eastern courts, who do absolutely nothing, either in war or in peace, as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue, and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career, he was the favourer of the Hindustānī party in the State, the person through whom Jāt or Rājput chiefs put forward any claim they might wish to advance. Especially was this the case with Rājah Jai Singh, for whom as we shall see, Khān Daurān obtained many favours.¹

9. GHĀZĪU-D-DĪN KHĀN, GHĀLIB JANG, (AḥMAD BĒG).

When Farrukhsiyar first reached ‘Azīmābād Patṇah, Sharī‘at-ullāh Khān (Mīr Jumlah) and Khwāja ‘Aṣim (Khān Daurān) not being present, Aḥmad Bēg became for a time his most active assistant and principal confidant. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahāndār Shāh,² but having quarrelled with that prince on account of the preference shown for ‘Alī Murād, Kokaltāsh Khān, he sought a refuge in Bengal. When Farrukhsiyar’s more particular favourites returned, they supplanted Aḥmad Bēg in the prince’s good graces, and from that time he seems to have fallen a good deal into the back ground. Aḥmad Bēg, a man of Tūrānī race,³ was born about 1076 H. 1665-6. From the scantiness of his beard, he bore the nickname of *Kosah*, or Goatbeard.⁴ His further part in history is confined to two occasions, the day of

¹ *Ma’āṣiru-l-umarā*, I, 819, Yaḥyā Khān, 119b., Āshōb, 73.

² Yaḥyā Khān, 119a, says he was the *nawāsah* (daughter’s son) of Qāim Bēg, Shāhjahānī.

³ The *Aḥwālu-l-khawāqīn*, 61a, gives him the epithet of *Ashṭarlab* (?).

⁴ The epithet is borne out by a portrait that I saw lately at Mr. Quaritch’s (one of the drawings mentioned on the cover of his catalogue No. 155, December 1895). Ghālib Jang is shown seated, and is dressed in a pale mauve coat of thin muslin. His beard consists of four or five short, straight hairs.

Farrukhsiyar's deposition, when he fought in the streets on his master's behalf, and again at the time when he took the side of Qutbu-l-mulk, after the murder of Husain 'Ali Khān. When Muhammad Shāh pardoned him, it was proposed to take away his title of Ghālib Jang, as it had been granted to a brother of Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Sādiq. Ghazi-ud-dīn Khān made loud objection, and claimed that, as both he and the new "Conqueror in War" were present, they should fight it out in single combat, the victor becoming in both senses "*Ghālib-i-jang*." The emperor smiled and left him in undisturbed possession. He died on the 12th Ṣafar, 1139 H., (8th October, 1726), at the age of sixty-three (lunar) years.¹

10. MĪR JUMLAH.

The name of this man, a native of Samarqand in Tūrān, was 'Ubaid-ullāh,² son of Mir Muhammad Wafā, and he was born about the year 1081 H., 1670-1. Early in life he abandoned his native country and repaired to Hindūstān, where he arrived in the reign of 'Ālamgīr. He obtained in time the post of *Qāzī* at Jahāngīrnagar Dhākah in *ṣūbah* Bengal, and finally the same office at 'Azīmābād Patnah in *ṣūbah* Bihar. He seems to have wormed himself into the confidence of Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān, then Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and to have obtained complete control over the mind of his second son, Farrukhsiyar. He was with Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān at Lāhōr, and as we have already stated, was making his way eastwards to Farrukhsiyar when he met and joined that prince at Āgrah. He had secured himself a very favourable reception by his successful negotiations with the Tūrānī leaders in Jahāndār Shāh's army. From this time his name will recur frequently in our narrative. His titles were first Shari'at-ullāh Khān, then 'Ibād-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, and finally Muta'midu-l-mulk, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, Mīr Jumlah, Tarkhānī, Sultānī. He is described by one writer as a man who, in spite of his great learning, was blind to the essential meaning of things.³

11. NIZĀMU-L-MULK.

Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very first rank upon Farrukhsiyar's accession, was Nizāmu-l-mulk, now a man of nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age, who

¹ *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā* II, 879, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, year 1139 H.

² The *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā* has "Abd-ullāh" and "'Ibād-ullāh." The commonest form is عبيدالله which may be either 'Abīd-ullāh or 'Ubaid-ullāh.

³ *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā*, III, 711, *T-i-Mḥdī*, year 1144 H., *Aḥwāl-u-l-khawāqīn*, 61a.

was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor, even in 'Ālamgīr's reign. Hitherto, however, he had been overshadowed by his father, Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān, Fīrūz Jang, who had died only two years before this time, and by his cousin, a much older man, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, Bahādūr. But on Nizāmu-l-mulk's appointment in 1125 H. (1713) to the six *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin, he rose to a position of pre-eminence, which he never for one moment lost till his death in 1161 H. (1748), thirty-five years afterwards.

As stated a few pages back, when speaking of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the family of Nizāmu-l-mulk came from Samarqand. His great grand-father was 'Ālam Shaikh, son of Allāhdād, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmān, Shaikh 'Azīzān.¹ They are said to have come originally from Sahrward. Khawāja 'Ābid, son of 'Ālam Shaikh, moved to Bukhārā, where he was first of all *Qāzī*, then Shaikhu-l-islām. A year or two before 'Ālamgīr ascended the throne (1066-7 H., 1655-6), he passed through India on his way to Mecca. He returned at the time when 'Ālamgīr was about to start from the Dakhin to seize his father's throne. 'Ālamgīr accepted his services and gave him a high command. He filled various offices, such as that of *Ṣadārat-i-kull*, or superintendent of endowments, governor of Ajmēr, then of Multān. In the twenty-fourth year (1091-2 H., 1680-1) he fell into disgrace, but was soon pardoned and again given the *Ṣadārat-i-kull*. A year afterwards he was sent to the Dakhin, and then in the twenty-ninth year (1096-7 H., 1684-5), he became governor of Zafarābād Bīdar. He continued to serve with distinction in the Dakhin, until on the 24th Rabī' I. 1098 H. (30th January, 1687), at the siege of Gulkandah, he was shot in the arm and died of the wound. In the twenty-third year (1690-1) he had received the title of Qilīc Khān. He had five sons, the two youngest of whom died comparatively early in life without rising very high. The second and third sons, Mu'izzu-d-daulah, Hāmid Khān, and Naṣīru-d-daulah, 'Abdu-r-rahīm Khān, were men of some fame and distinction.

¹ The table (furnished by the present Nizām) in J. D. B. Gribble's "History of the Deccan," I, 380, gives the same steps in the genealogy thus:—

Nizāmu-l-mulk, Āṣaf Jāh,

|
Fīrūz Jang

|
Mīr 'Ābid (Qilīc Khān),

|
Khawāja Mīr Ismā'īl

|
Khawāja 'Azīzān (Alunā)

|
Mḥd 'Ālam Shaikh, Ṣadīqī 'Ulvī,

and so on, back to Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr, in the 33rd generation.

But the greatest of all was the eldest son, Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang, and to him we now turn.

Mir Shahābu-d-dīn was born at Samarcand about the year 1060 H. (1649-50); and followed his father to India in the twelfth year of 'Alamgīr (1079-80 H., 1668-9), when he was in his nineteenth or twentieth year. He received the rank of 300 *Zāt*, 70 horse. His special favour with 'Alamgīr began ten years later when, at the peril of his life, he brought speedy information from a general who had been sent in pursuit of the Rānā into the hills of Udaipur, and of whose safety no tidings could be obtained. For this service he obtained the title of Khān and from that time rose rapidly, especially after he had proved his loyalty by rejecting all advances from the emperor's rebel son, Prince Akbar. He accompanied the emperor into the Dakhin and took part in all the campaigns there for the succeeding five and twenty years. He conquered Ibrāhimgarh-Ekar (also called Firūzgarh); was conspicuous in the taking of Haidarābād; Adonī (Imtiyāzgarh) also fell before him. He was sent against Çambhājī, son of Çivājī, in 1099-1100 H. (1687-8), and served against Deogarh (Islāmgarh), which he captured. In the forty-eighth year, 1115-16 H., 1703-4, he pursued the Mahrattahs into Mālwah. At the time of 'Alamgīr's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was at Elicpur, in charge of the shūbah of Barār. As we have already recounted (under Bahādur Shāh's reign), he took no part in the war of succession between A'zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh. The Tūrānīs were not in favour with the victor, Bahādur Shāh, and thus Firūz Jang was moved out of the Dakhin, where he was dangerous, to the government of Ahmadābād in Gujarāt. There he died on the 17th Shawwāl 1122 H. (8th December, 1710) at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. He held the rank of 7,000 *zāt*. Following the usual Mughal system, his estate was confiscated on his death. It consisted of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold *muhrs*, 25,000 *Hūn* (gold) and *nīm-pāolī* (gold), 17,000 gold *Pāolī*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8,000 whole silver *Pāolī*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants.

Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān is described as the most exceptionally gifted among the Tūrānī nobles, good-natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator. His first wife was the daughter of Sa'd-ullāh Khān,¹ Wazir of Shāhjahan; after her death he married in succession two of her nieces, daughters of her brother, Hifz-ullāh Khān (Miyān Khān), but by these two wives he had no children. For the last twenty years of his life he was totally blind, his sight having been

¹ S. K. died 1066 H., 1665-6, see *M-ul-u*, II, 441 and *T-i-Mhdī*, year 1066 H.

destroyed by an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. In spite of this privation, his active career continued as before; such a case having been until then unknown in India, of a blind man continuing to command an army in the field or govern a province.

Mīr Qamaru-d-dīn, son of Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān by the daughter of Shāhjahān's Wazīr, Sa'd-ullāh Khān, was born on the 14th Rabī' II. 1082 H., (11th August, 1671).¹ In 1095 H. (1682-3) when in his thirteenth year, he received as his first appointment in the service of the state, the rank of 400 *zāt*, 100 horse. In the following year the title of Khān was added to his name. In 1101 or 1102 H., (1690-1), he received the title of Cīn Qilic Khān, and at 'Ālamgīr's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was governor of Bijāpur. His father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the sons of 'Ālamgīr: and when Bahādur Shāh had succeeded in defeating his rival, he removed the Tūrānis from the Dakhīn, possibly on the advice of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who looked on them as his personal enemies. Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang, was sent to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, went to Murādābād as *faujdār* and Cīn Qilic Khān was appointed Šūbahdār of Audh and *faujdār* of Gōrakhpur (15th Ramaḡān, 1119 H., 9th December, 1707). At the same time the title of the last named was changed to that of Khān Daurān, Bahādur, and he was raised to 6000 *zāt*, 6000 horse. A few weeks afterwards (5th Zū-l-Qa'dah, 27th January, 1708), he resigned all his titles and appointments; but at the desire of Mun'im Khān, the Wazīr, he withdrew his resignation and was promoted to 7,000 *zāt*, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Cīn Qilic Khān (Khān Daurān as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, 18th Zū-l-Hijjah 1122 H., 6th February, 1711; this time it was accepted, and 4,000 rupees a year were granted for his support. Quite at the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign, he returned to the active list with the titles of Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Bahādur, Firūz Jang. On Bahādur Shāh's death, he attempted to espouse the cause of 'Azīmu-sh-shān,

¹ In many works there is a curious mistake as to Nizāmu-l-mulk's age. He is said to have died in 1161 H., (1748), at the age of one hundred and four years. Orme, "Military Transactions," Madras reprint, I, 122, is the first to make this statement. Orme was in Madras at the time of the Nizām's death (1748), and ought to have known the truth; but then he had no knowledge of Persian and no access to written authorities. Grant Duff, "History of the Mahrattahs," Bombay reprint, 265, repeats the statement, probably copying from Orme. Grant Duff was acquainted with both the *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā*, and the *Khizānah-i-'āmirah*, a reference to either of which would have shown him that Nizāmu-l-mulk's birth year was 1082 H.; and therefore, in 1161 H., when he died, he could have been no more than 79 lunar or 77 solar years of age. This is the age given by Elphinstone, "History," 64 l.

who long before had promised him high office, and he had made one march from Dihlī at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 men, when he heard of the prince's death. Thereupon he discharged his men and retired into private life. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was the brother-in-law of his cousin, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, and this man's services to Zū-l-fiqār Khān had been so great, that on his account Cīn Qilīc Khān's hostile attitude was overlooked. Towards the end of Jahāndār Shāh's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Āgrah. There he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukhsiyar's interest, as already related, through Shari'at-ullāh Khān (Mīr Jumlah), and as a reward for his neutrality he was now made governor of the whole Dakhin, with the new titles first of Khān Khānān, and then of Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Fath Jang.¹

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1. *Dastūru-l-‘amal*, British Museum, Ms. No. 6598.
2. *Dastūru-l-‘amal*, British Museum, Ms. No. 1690.

¹ Fath Jang is the title by which he is most commonly referred to by Khāfī Khān. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 399, is the authority for Khān Khānān. For the rest of the above paragraphs, see *Ma‘āṣiru-l-umarā*, III, 120 (Qilīc Khān), II, 872, (Fīrūz Jang), III, 837 and 875–883 (Nizāmu-l-mulk), also *Tārīkh-i-Khurshīd-Jāhī*, p. 372 (lithographed, Haidarābād, 1287 H.), *Maāṣir-i-‘Ālamgīrī*, 242, 249, 259, 340, and Kām-war Khān.

3. *Shiū Dās*,—*Munavviru-l-kalām*, by S. D. composed c. 1134 H., 1722-3, British Museum, Oriental, Ms. No. 26.
4. *Rustam 'Alī*.—*Tārīkh-i-hindī* by Rustam 'Alī, *Shāhābādī*, composed 1154 H., 1741-2, British Museum, Oriental Ms. No. 1628.
5. *Mirātu-l-Iṣṭilāḥ* by Ānand Rām, *Mukhlīṣ* composed 1157 H., 1744-5, British Museum, Oriental Ms. No. 1813.
6. *Āshōb*.—*Tārīkh-i-shahādat-i-Farrukhssyar-o-julūs-i-Muḥammad Shāh*, by Muḥammad Bakhsh, *Āshōb*, composed 1198 H., 1783-4, India Office Library, Ms. No. 250, 251 and B. M. Or. 1832.



*An unrecorded Governor of Fort William in Bengal.—By C. R.
WILSON, M. A.*

[Read April, 1898.]

It is well known that the commonly received lists of the early Governors of Bengal are very imperfect. Quite recently, in 1888, Mr. F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of the India Office Records, drew up a statement and memorandum tracing the Bengal Chiefs, Agents, and Governors, from the earliest dates. Yet even he has failed to notice the Governor of whose history this paper is intended to be a brief record. He was, it is true, Governor for little more than a single day, but his life more than covers the interval between Charnock and Clive, and the man himself is an interesting personality in the factory period.

Edward Stephenson¹ was born in Cumberland in the year 1691, his baptism being recorded in the parish register of Crosthwaite under the date of the 8th October of that year. His father was Edward Stephenson of Keswick. Through his mother Rebecca, he was connected with the Winders of Lorton and of the City of London. The pedigree of the Winders of Lorton has been investigated with great care by Mr. F. A. Winder of Southsea, Portsmouth,² to whom I am indebted for much of the information which follows. Here it will be sufficient to say that John Winder of Lorton, who died in May, 1696, left behind a numerous family among whom were his eldest son and heir John Winder, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn; Samuel Winder, a merchant at Mark Lane, London; Jonathan Winder, his third son, who entered the New East India Company's service, and was from 1705 to 1707 one of the two Chairmen of the United Council in Bengal; and Rebecca who married, as has been said, Edward Stephenson of Keswick, by whom she had two sons, Edward and John, and a daughter, Debora.

¹ He signs "Edwd. Stephenson," and so the India Office Records always spell the name. The parish register has "Steavenson."

² See his paper on the subject in Vol. XIV. of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

On the 3rd November, 1708, the Court of Directors of the East India Company read a petition from Edward Stephenson, then seventeen years old "praying to be entertained a writer in the Bay or elsewhere," and ordered the Committee of Accounts to examine the petitioner's qualifications.¹ On the 24th November Edward Stephenson was elected a writer in the Company's service.² On the 17th December following, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Jonathan Winder were accepted as securities for Edward Stephenson in £500.³ Edward Stephenson arrived in Bengal on the 2nd February, 1710.⁴ In the seventy-fifth paragraph of a letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors dated the 10th December, 1712, he was specially commended.⁵ On this account he was advanced one year in service and accordingly became a Factor on the 2nd February, 1714.⁶ In a list of the Company's servants drawn up in November, 1711, he appears as Sub-Accountant.

On the 5th January, 1714, he was elected third in the embassy to Delhi.⁷ On the 26th February he was given two hundred and fifty rupees to provide himself with clothes and necessaries.⁸ In April the boats which carried the present for Farrukhsiyar were sent up the river to Patna, and Stephenson must have left Calcutta at the same time or soon after.⁹ When the Surman Diary opens in August, 1714, we find him with John Surman in Patna preparing to start for the Mogul Court. On the 6th April, 1715, the embassy actually began its journey. On the 7th July it made its entry into Delhi.¹⁰ The next two years were spent in long, tedious, but successful negotiations. After many disappointments Farrukhsiyar and his vizier, Sayyid 'Abdu-llāh Khān, were prevailed upon to issue a number of imperial rescripts and orders increasing and securing the commercial privileges of the English in every part of India. In his

¹ See Court Book XLIII., p. 231.

² See Court Book XLIII., p. 275.

³ See Court Book XLIII., p. 344.

⁴ See the lists of the Company's servants which come at the end of the volumes of Consultations in the India Office Records.

⁵ This letter is lost, but an abstract of it will be found in the Correspondence Papers, Vol. I., 1713 to 1715.

⁶ See Bengal General, dated 13th January, 1713 (*i.e.*, 1714), para. 88.

⁷ See Bengal Public Consultations of that date. On further discussion, Khojah Sarhad being appointed second, John Pratt became third, and Stephenson, Secretary. Finally Pratt withdrew and on the 4th March Stephenson was again appointed third.

⁸ See Bengal Public Consultations of that date.

⁹ *Ib.*

¹⁰ See the Surman Diary under the dates given.

old age Stephenson was consulted by Orme about the history of this embassy in which he played no small part and of which he was in 1765 the sole survivor. On the 18th July, 1717, the embassy left Delhi and returned to Calcutta on the 22nd November.¹

From the embassy Stephenson went to Balasor to be Chief of the local factory; but in July, August, 1718, he was transferred to the Council at Patna of which he became Chief on the 25th June, 1719.² In September, 1720, he was confirmed in this appointment, and given a gratuity of £300 for his services in connection with the embassy.³

After eight years of uneventful service, first as Chief at Patna, and afterwards as Chief at Cassimbazar, he was suddenly called upon to fill the highest post of all. "On Friday, the 23rd August, 1718," says the Consultations Book, "the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., late President, having, after a sickness of about twelve days, departed this life at one o'clock this morning, and the Worshipful Edward Stephenson, Esq., being next in succession, who is now Chief at Cassimbazar, it is unanimously agreed that we despatch a pair of *qāšids* to advise him that thereby the government of this place devolves on him." The Consultations Book continues the story on Tuesday the 17th September. "This morning at nine o'clock the Hon. Edward Stephenson, Esq., arrived here from Cassimbazar and took his place at this board as President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal to which he succeeds by the death of our late President, the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., and accordingly the commission and keys of the fort were now delivered him." His rule was short. On the evening of Wednesday the 18th John Deane who had already held supreme authority, from 1723 to 1726, returned from England and resumed his former position. "At eight o'clock in the night arrived here John Deane, Esq., who produced the Honorable Company's commission for appointing him President and Governor of all their affairs in Bengal; which commission was read in the Consultation Room, Fort William, in the presence of all the Company's servants, &c., and accordingly the keys of the fort were delivered to him by Edward Stephenson, Esq."⁴

¹ See the Surman Diary and the Bengal Public Consultations of the dates given.

² See Bengal Public Consultations as before.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ No notice of these changes is to be found in any of our authorities. Even Mr. Danvers in his carefully compiled list of Bengal Governors has omitted Edward Stephenson and the second governorship of John Deane. According to him Henry Frankland assumed office on the 30th January, 1726, and returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732. Whereas, as I have said, Henry Frankland died on the 23rd August, 1728, and was succeeded by Edward Stephenson, who after actually holding office for a day and a half was superseded by John Deane on the night of the 18th

Stephenson accordingly returned to Cassimbazar where he remained another year. At the end of 1729 he resigned the chiefship of that place, and came down to Calcutta, whence he sailed for England on the *Eyles* at the beginning of 1730.¹

It was probably after his return home that "Governor" Stephenson married the lady whose death on the 24th February, 1744, is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.² In 1764 Orme, who was collecting materials for the second volume of his history wrote as follows to Stephenson³:—

"CONCERNING THE EMBASSY TO FURRUCKSEER.

TO MR. STEVENSON.

SIR,

It is not impossible that you may have seen my work of the military transactions in India, and if your opinion of it has induced you to wish for the continuance of it, my present requests to you will carry their excuse with them; otherwise this intrusion will scarce admit of an apology.

In order to explain the late revolutions in Bengal, it appears to me absolutely necessary to explain the embassy to Furruckshir on which you went with Mr. Surman. These papers are in the India house where I am suffered to peruse them, but from whence I am not permitted to take them. As I am very infirm it is very seldom that I can go there, and when there, my attention is distracted by the variety of clerks and business, which surround me. If you have these papers in your possession, I shall be very much obliged to you for the loan of them for a few days. I will take great care of them, and return them punctually at the limited time. Should you be induced to comply with this request I beg the favour you will omit no scrap however insignificant in appearance, for it has often happened that a few words lead to very material knowledge.

I have always looked upon the Phirmaunds, which you obtained from Furuckshir, as the Magna Charter of the Company until of late years. It is true that the great Phirmaund, as published by Mr. Frazer, seems to imply a general permission of trading to all places in all articles. But I much doubt whether the Mogul ever intended that we should extend our sales beyond what was importation from foreign parts, or our purchases beyond what was intended for exportation. At least I am sure that all the while I was in Bengal, no Englishman dared to trade in salt, beetle or tobacco, and if they carried any others of the productions of the country from one port to another of the province of Bengal, they were permitted only because the profits were known to be very small and not worth the attention of the

September. It was John Deane who, having thus become a second time Governor returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732.

¹ See Bengal Public Consultations.

² *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1744, p. 108.

³ ORME COLLECTIONS XV. Letter from Mr. Orme to Mr. Stevenson, pp. 4131-4133.

natives to make a quarrel about. I should be glad, therefore, to know from you, Sir, who are the only man alive that can tell me, whether these restrictions were not intended, although they may not be expressed in the Phirmaund.

It was a report whilst I was in Bengal that you had obtained from the Mogul an addition of 84 villages to the ground which contained all the Company's territory ten years ago; that is from Perrings to Surman's garden: but that the Nabob Jaffeir Khan set his face against this accession of territory, and would not suffer the company to take possession of it. It was likewise a common talk, that Mr. Surman offended Jaffeir Khan on his return from Delhi, by asserting that the title of his Munsib being higher than the Nabob's, the Nabob ought in some ceremonies, which were to pass between them, to give him the precedence. I was young when in Bengal and never thinking of the work I am now engaged in, took these stories as they were told at table talk, and having forgot one half of the particulars, have little confidence in, nor indeed a clear idea of the rest. But by the Phirmaund published by Mr. Frazer it appears that the Mogul only granted 40 vingas, that is about 30 acres of ground to any settlements which the Company might make in Bengal or Orissa. So that the 84 villages must have been, if granted at all, in a separate Phirmaund.

Again, Sir, I should be glad to know what particular and extraordinary oppressions from the Government the Company suffered, to induce them to be at the expense of your embassy.

It was in consequence of great oppressions that in the year 1685, the old Company sent out an armanent and ordered Job Chanock to fight. The papers of old date which came from abroad, are in such extreme confusion at the India House, that there is no possibility of divining where Job Chanock's letter to the Company, informing them of his expedition, lies; so that I despair of ever seeing it. Perhaps, Sir, you by being in India, not many years after that event, may be able to give some account of it. Where he marched from and to; whom he fought; and the success; which by a letter, wrote by the Directors after the expedition, seems to have been no wise satisfactory to them.

I am far from expecting that you should be at the trouble of giving me in writing all the details concerning the informations I want; but an hour's conversation with you will, I hope, be deemed no unreasonable request, although I am a perfect stranger to you. If, therefore, you will permit me to wait on you the first time you come to town, I shall be much obliged for notice the day before, when I can have the pleasure of seeing you at your house in Queen Square. All I can say, Sir, is, that as you are the only person living who can give me these informations, my obligation will be equal to the difficulty of obtaining them elsewhere, very great indeed.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

Harley Street, Cavendish Square,

R. ORME."

August 4th, 1764.

From this it would appear that Edward Stephenson at this time resided chiefly in the country, perhaps at Borfield Lodge, Essex, and only occasionally came to town where he had a house in Queen's Square. Orme has preserved the following "memorandums of a conversation¹ :

"Memorandums of a conversation with Edward Stephenson, Esq., who went on the Embassy to Furruckseer; taken on the same day I visited him January 17th, 1765.

He says that all the Lands in a province in Indostan excepting such as are governed by Rajahs, consist either of Colsa lands or Jagueers.

Jagueers are lands given to the Nabobs, Phousdars, or other Officers of the State, by the Crown, to be held only during their administration or continuance in favour, of which lands the temporary Lord receives the revenues or advantages, on condition that he keeps up the number of horse at which his Munsub or title of nobility is rated, and likewise the number of foot which are always in one settled proportion attached to the number of horse, this Mr. Stephenson believes to be double. So that a Munsub of 4,000 horse is to maintain besides those 4,000 horse, 8,000 foot, and he receives the rents of his Jagueer without deductions or taxes due to the Crown.

The Colsa lands are such as being neither governed by Rajahs, nor portioned into Jagueers remain to the Moorish Government to be administered by their own officers. All the Colsa lands are under the administration of the Duan, who farms them out to Renters for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. years, and the rents forthcoming from them are brought by the Duan into his account with the Emperor.

The territories governed by Rajahs are for the most part the same, which the ancestors of these Rajahs ruled at the time of conquest. It sometimes likewise has happened that Rajahs, who for the convenience of the Government, have been removed out of their hereditary lands, have been placed in other vacant territories.

These Rajahs govern according to the ancient institutions of their forefathers over the Indians their subjects; but over Mahomedans established in their territory they have not except by particular permission any authority of life or corporal punishment, for a Mahomedan always calls upon the Koran and the Cadi who is the interpreter of the Koran for this [his] Judge.

The Rajahs pay the stipulated tribute to the Duan.

The Duan therefore must be an officer of very great power, equal almost to the Nabob, His functions are :

- 1st. Supreme authority over the Colsah lands in all cases where the land is concerned.

¹ ORME COLLECTIONS O. V. 12, pp. 107-109.

2nd. Receiver general of all the Customs established in the Mogul's name. In the Jagueer lands the Nabob or Jaggueer Lord collects the customs, but cannot impose them in detriment to the interests of the Crown, against the will of the Duan. In the Rajahs' lands the Rajahs have likewise the same rights as the Nabobs in the Jaggueer lands; but with the same limitations.

3rd. He is Agent for the Crown or rather Executor to the estates of all the feudatories who die.

The dependance which the Duan has on the Nabob consists in being obliged to apply to him for forces, for keeping in order the Rajahs or the Colsah inhabitants who do not regularly and punctually pay their debts to the Crown."

Whether Orme ever saw Stephenson again, whether they ever talked upon any other points, I cannot say, but perhaps Stephenson was too infirm to enter into lengthy discussions. Three years later, on the 7th September, 1768, "Governor" Stephenson died at his house in Queen's Square;¹ and was buried in the family vault at Keswick in Cumberland.² He left no will and the administration of his property was granted on the 23rd September "to John Stephenson, Esq., the natural and lawful brother and next of kin of the said deceased."³ John Stephenson died in 1771, aged 72, at Mount Pleasant.⁴ He left a very lengthy will, of which the most important provisions are the following⁵:—

I, John Stephenson, late of East St., Red Lion Square, London, but now of Tottenham High Cross, Esquire, make my will. Body to be buried in my family vault at Keswick, Cumberland, where my late brother Edward Stephenson is interred. I give and bequeath, unto Rev. Mr. Christian of Keswick, clerk, £50; to Henry Littledale gent, £500; to William Battie, doctor of Physic, £20; my steward Joseph Clarke of Bodybury, Kent, Hannah Wilson of Keswick, my Steward William Graham of Sikeside, Cumberland, Hannah Basford, John Fletcher, (servant of my son Edward Stephenson) each £20 for mourning. To Anthony Askew, of Queen's Square, London, doctor of physic, and my cousin Rowland Stephenson, of Lombard St., London, Banker, my two Executors, £500 each. To James Farrer, of Bread St. Hill, gent, and Thomas Lewis of Theobald's Row, London, carpenter, my Trustees, £500, each.

William Battie and Anthony Askew to have care of my son. To James Farrer and Thomas Lewis, heirs and assigns, all my freehold and copyhold;

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine for 1768, Vol. 38, pp. 447, 494.

² See the Will of John Stephenson given below.

³ P. C. C., A. A. 1768.

⁴ Gentleman's Magazine for 1771, p. 239.

⁵ Proved 1771. P. C. C. Trevor, No. 230.

manors, messuages, lands, etc., for uses herein after expressed:—viz: £1000 yearly for use and support of Edward Stephenson, my son, during life and heirs if my son die without issue ... then to Anthony Askew,

For these details I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Winder, who also tells me that Edward Stephenson built "Governor House," Keswick, and that a descendant of the family is still living in Paris at a place called "Governor's House." The following inscription is cut in stone on the chancel floor of Crosthwaite Parish Church.

" EDWARD STEPHENSON, ESQUIRE,

" late Governor

" of Bengal.

" Ob^t. Sep. 7, 1768.

" Ætat. 77."



The discovery of a work by Āryadēva in Sanskrit.—By MAHĀMAHŌPĀDHYĀYA
HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, *Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College.*

[Read January, 1898.]

When in Nepal I paid a visit to His Excellency Dēva Shamshēr Jang Rāṇā Bahādur, Commander-in-Chief of the Nepal Army. At the interview were present a Hindu Paṇḍit and a Buddhist Bāḍā. There was a collection of Manuscripts and I was asked by His Excellency if I knew anything of these Manuscripts. There were some volumes of the *Çata-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, a MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* written in the reign of Rāmapāla who is said to have been a king of Eastern Bengal and who reigned about the year 1000 A.D.; a MS. of a work on the influence of the heavenly bodies on human diseases. But there was a bundle of palm-leaves which I could not identify at first sight. It had no beginning and apparently no end. I solicited the permission of His Excellency to give me an opportunity of examining the MS., once more. It was therefore deposited with the Head Master of the Durbar School, Bābū Phanibhūṣaṇa Adhikārī. I called on him a few days later, examined the MS. very carefully and took a copy of it in Bengali. It was written in old Nēvārī and was in many places altogether obliterated. The first leaf was missing. There were eight leaves from 2 to 9 but the obverse side of the 7th was altogether illegible. There were altogether 125 verses from 6 to 131. Of the 6th verse only the last two caranās remain. Of the 3rd caranā the first letter was missing. That letter I had no difficulty in guessing. It was *Ma* because the second leaf begins with the letters *hāyāne*. After the 131st verse the following statement occurs.

कृतिरियं आर्यदेवपादानामिति ॥ स्वपरार्थहेतुना स्वात्र (?) हरितत्वेति
शुभं मये लिखितम् । यथात्मनः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनां तथा ।

The name of the work is not given but it is stated in the colophon that it was the work of Āryadēva a name familiar to every reader of Buddhist Literature, and especially of the Siyuki. He was a disciple

of Nāgārjuna and one of those great men who helped the spread of the Mahāyāna doctrines of Buddhism. Beal says, “ he had a great contempt for external forms of worship. ‘A Spirit’ he said, is ‘Spiritual.’ We are not surprised to find therefore, that his teaching was of a mystical character.” I find, the same thing exemplified before me. Thus he speaks of the bathing in the Ganges in my Manuscript:—

इत्थं अशुचिसम्भूतः पिण्डो ह्यशुचिपूरितः ।
 कथं सन् तादृशः कायो गङ्गास्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ ६० ॥
 न ह्यशुचिघटस्तोयैः क्षालितोऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
 तद्वदशुचिसम्पूर्णः पिण्डोऽपि न विशुध्यति ॥ ६१ ॥
 प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
 तस्मात् धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्फलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 धर्म्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
 नक्तंदिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनान्तु का कथा ॥ ६३ ॥
 पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
 यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥

Thus this lump (of flesh, meaning the human body) is produced by and is full of impure substances. How can it be purified by bathing in the Ganges? An impure waterpot though washed again and again by water, cannot be pure; so the lump full of impurities can never be pure. A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore the bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fishermen are very meritorious, not to speak of the fishes and others who are immersed in water, day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin even is not dissipated because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of love, hatred, &c.

Thus in the course of five short verses, Āryadēva denounces the uselessness not only of bathing in the Ganges but of all bathings and pilgrimages. They are not only incapable of conferring merit but are also incapable of dissipating sin.

The ninth verse of the MS. corresponds to the first verse of the Dhammapada in Pali but the Pali verse has six caranās while my verse has four only. The last letter of the second caranā is *manōjavāḥ* in my MS. while in Pali it is *manōmayā*.

The work appears to be a complete one as at the end Āryadēva says :

चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय यन्मयोपार्जितं शुभम् ।
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय तेनास्तु सुखिनो जनाः ॥

Let people be happy by making their hearts pure by the merit which I have acquired by making my heart pure.

Then comes the colophon ; after the colophon we have the name of the scribe and then a portion of the well-known formula यथात्मनः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनां तथा । The writer apparently had no space in the leaf to complete the couplet and at first sight I could not make out that the work came to an end there.

(म)हायाने सुविस्पष्टमुक्तमेतत् सुविस्तरम् ॥ ६ ॥
 धर्मपुद्गलनैराख्याचित्तमात्रं जगौ मुनिः ।
 ततोऽपि सर्वमुत्पन्नं गमकं सुनिराकुलम् ॥ ७ ॥
 भावग्रहप्रभावेण(प्रह्लावेण) गृहीतान् प्रति चोदितम् ।
 आगमेऽपि हि सुयुक्तं विस्तरं करुणात्मना ॥ ८ ॥
 मनःपूर्वङ्गमा धर्म्मा मनः श्रेष्ठं मनोजवाः ।
 मनसा च प्रदुष्टेन भाषते वा करोति वा ॥ ९ ॥
 स्वपिता भिक्षुणादिष्टः शीघ्रं गच्छति प्रेरितम् ।
 आयुष्य च मृते तस्मिन्नानन्तर्येण गृह्यते ॥ १० ॥
 स्वग्लानेनार्हतादिष्टः स्वगलं परिपीडितम् ।
 उपस्थायकभिक्षुः स मृते तस्मिन्न दोषभाक् ॥ ११ ॥
 अन्यसङ्गीनि चाल्यन्तु मारयन् दोषमश्रुते ।
 इत्युक्तं विनये व्यक्तं न दोषो ऽदुष्टचेतसाम् ॥ १२ ॥
 न स्तूपखलणे दोषस्तत्संस्कारधिया मतम् ।
 केवलं पुण्यराशिः स्यादुखानन्तर्यकारिणाम् ॥ १३ ॥
 उपानयुगलं दत्वा मुनेर्मूर्द्धि शुभाश्रयात् ।
 अपनीय तथा चान्यं राज्यं फलमवाप्नुतः ॥ १४ ॥
 तस्मादाश्रयमूला हि पापकर्मव्यवस्थितिः ।
 इत्युक्तमागमे यस्मात् नापत्तिः शुभचेतसाम् ॥ १५ ॥
 स्वाधिदेवतयोगात्मा जगदर्थकृतोद्यमः ।
 भुञ्जानो विषयान् योगान्मुच्यते न चलिष्यति ॥ १६ ॥
 यथैव विषतत्वज्ञो विषमालोक्य भक्षयन् ।
 केवलं मुच्यते नासौ रोगमुक्तश्च जायते ॥ १७ ॥
 मायामरीचि-गन्धर्व्वनगर-स्वप्नसन्निभम् ।
 जगत्सर्व्वं समालोक्य किं कथं केन भुज्यते ॥ १८ ॥

* 19th verse is not in the MS.

बाला मज्जन्ति रूपेषु वैराग्यं यान्ति मध्यमाः ।
 स्वभावज्ञा विमुच्यन्ते रूपस्योत्तमबुद्धयः ॥ २० ॥
 विचिन्त्य समयं सर्व्वं देवतापूजनाविधिम् ।
 शुद्धमालोक्य निःशङ्कं भोक्तव्यं मन्त्रचोदितम् ॥ २१ ॥
 शोष्यं बोध्यं तथा दौष्यं अङ्कुरत्रययोगतः ।
 अनामाङ्गुष्ठवक्त्राभ्यां प्रीणयेच्च तथागतान् ॥ २२ ॥
 यत् सत्यमिति बालानां तन्मिथ्या खलु योगिनाम् ।
 कायेनैव तु सम्प्राप्तं न बद्धो न च मुच्यते ॥ २३ ॥
 संसारं चैव निर्व्वर्णं मन्यन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिणः ।
 न संसारं न निर्व्वर्णं मन्यन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिणः ॥ २४ ॥
 विकल्पो हि महाग्राहः संसारोदधिपाटकः ।
 अविकल्पा महात्मानो मुच्यन्ते भवबन्धनात् ॥ २५ ॥
 शङ्काविषेण बाध्यन्ते विषेणैव पृथक्जनाः ।
 तामेवोत्खाल्य निर्मूलं विचरेत् करुणात्मकः ॥ २६ ॥
 यथैकः स्फटिकः स्वच्छः पररागेण रज्यते ।
 तथैव चित्तरत्नन्तु कल्पनारागरञ्जितम् ॥ २७ ॥
 प्रकृते कल्पनारागैर्विविक्तं चित्तरत्नकम् ।
 आदिशुद्धमनुत्पन्नं निजरूपमनाविलम् ॥ २८ ॥
 तत्तद्यत्नेन कर्त्तव्यं यद्यद्वालविगर्हितम् ।
 स्वाधिदैवतयोगेन चित्तनिर्मलकारिणा ॥ २९ ॥
 रागाग्निविषसंयुक्ता योगिनां शुद्धचेतसा ।
 कामिताः खलु कामिन्यः कामामोच्यफलावहाः ॥ ३० ॥
 यथा स्वगरुडं ध्यात्वा गारुडिको विषं पिवन् ।
 करोति हि विषं साध्यं न विषेणाभिभूयते ॥ ३१ ॥
 द्वादशयोजनव्यासं चक्रं वै शिरसि भ्रमन् ।
 बोधिचित्तमनुत्पाद्य आपनीतमिति श्रुतिः ॥ ३२ ॥
 बोधिचित्तं समुत्पाद्य सम्बोधौ कृतचेतसा ।
 तन्नास्ति यन्न कर्त्तव्यं जगदुद्धरणाश्रया ॥ ३३ ॥
 आदिशुद्धमनुत्पन्नं निःस्वभावमनाविलम् ।
 जगत् भावेन संपश्यन्न बद्धो न च मुच्यते ॥ ३४ ॥

विचिन्त्य विधिवद्योगी देवतागुणविस्तरम् ।
 रागयेत् रागचित्तेन रज्यते न च मुच्यते ॥ ३५ ॥
 किं कुर्मः कलया लभ्या विचित्रा भावशक्तयः ।
 विषाज्जा(घ्रा)तो यथा कश्चिद्विषेणैव तु निर्विषः ॥ ३६ ॥
 कर्णाज्जलं जलेनैव कण्ठकेनैव कण्ठकम् ।
 रागेणैव तथा रागमुद्धरन्ति मनोविषणः ॥ ३७ ॥
 यथैव रजको वस्त्रं मलेनैव तु निर्मलम् ।
 कुर्याद्विज्ञस्तथात्मानं मलेनैव तु निर्मलम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 यथा भवति संशुद्धो रजोनिष्ठदुर्गणः ।
 सेवितस्तु तथा विज्ञैर्दोषादोषविनाशनः ॥ ३९ ॥
 लोहपिण्डो जले क्षिप्तो मज्जत्येव तु केवलम् ।
 पात्रीकृतं तदेवान्यं तारयेत् तरति स्वयम् ॥ ४० ॥
 तद्वत् पात्रीकृतं चित्तं प्रज्ञोपायविधानतः ।
 भुञ्जानो मुच्यते कामं मोचयत्यपरानपि ॥ ४१ ॥
 दुर्विज्ञैः सेवितः कामः कामो भवति बन्धनम् ।
 स एव सेवितो विज्ञैः कामो मोक्षप्रसाधकः ॥ ४२ ॥
 प्रसिद्धं सहसालोक्य क्षारं विषविनाशनम् ।
 तदेव फणिभिः पीतं सुतरां विषवर्द्धनम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 जले क्षीरं यथाविष्टं हंसः पिवति पण्डितः ।
 सविषान् विषयांस्तद्वद्भुक्तमुक्तश्च पण्डितः ॥ ४४ ॥
 यथैव विधिवद्भुक्तं विषमप्यमृतायते ।
 दुर्भुक्तं घृतपूरादि बालानान्तु विषायते ॥ ४५ ॥
 इदमेव हि यच्चित्तं शोधितं हेतुभिः शुभैः ।
 निर्विकल्पं निरालम्बं भाति प्रकृतिनिर्मलम् ॥ ४६ ॥
 यथा वह्निः कृष्णोऽप्येष तैलवृत्त्यादिसंस्कृतः ।
 दीपो निर्मलनिष्कम्पः स्थिरस्तिमिरनाशनः ॥ ४७ ॥
 वटवीजं यथा सूक्ष्मं सहकारसमन्वितं ।
 शाखा-मूल-फलोपेतं महावृक्षविधायकं ॥ ४८ ॥
 हरिद्राचूर्णसंयोगाद्वर्णान्तरमिति स्मृतं ।
 प्रज्ञोपायसमायोगाद्धर्मधातुं तथा विदुः ॥ ४९ ॥

घृतञ्च मधुसंयुक्तं समांसं विषतां व्रजेत् ।
 तदेव विधिवद्भुक्तमुत्कृष्टन्तु रसायनं ॥ ५० ॥
 रसस्पृष्टं यथा ताम्रं निर्दोषकाञ्चनं व्रजेत् ।
 ज्ञानवृद्धास्तथा क्लेशाः क्लेशाः कल्याणकारकाः ॥ ५१ ॥
 ह्रीनयानाभिरूढानां मृत्युशङ्का पदेपदे ।
 संग्रामजयतुन्तेन (स्तु तेषां) दूर एव व्यवस्थितः ॥ ५२ ॥
 महायानाभिरूढस्तु करुणाधर्मवर्मितः ।
 कृपानयधनुर्वीणो जगदुद्धरणाश्रयः ॥ ५३ ॥
 महासत्त्वो महोपायः स्थिरबुद्धिरतन्द्रितः ।
 जित्वा दुस्तरसंग्रामं तारयन्त्यपरानपि ॥ ५४ ॥
 पशवोऽपि हि क्लिश्यन्ते स्वार्थमात्रपरायणाः ।
 जगदर्थविधातारो धन्यास्ते विरला जनाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 शीतवातादिदुःखानि सहन्ते स्वार्थलम्पटाः ।
 जगदर्थप्रवृत्तास्ते न सहन्ते कथं नु ते ॥ ५६ ॥
 नारकाण्यपि दुःखानि सोढव्यानि कृपालुभिः ।
 शीतवातादिदुःखानि कस्तान्यपि विचारयेत् ॥ ५७ ॥
 नानिष्टकल्पनां कुर्यान्नोपवासं न च क्रियाम् ।
 स्नानशौचं न चैवात्र ग्रामधर्मं विवर्जयेत् ॥ ५८ ॥
 नखदन्तास्थिमज्जानः पितुः शुक्रविकारजाः ।
 मांसशोणितकेशादि मातृशोणितसम्भवम् ॥ ५९ ॥
 इत्थमशुचिसम्मतः पिण्डो ह्यशुचिपूरितः ।
 कथं सन् तादृशः कायो गङ्गास्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ ६० ॥
 न ह्यशुचिघटस्तोयैः क्षालितोऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
 तद्वदशुचिसम्पर्णः पिण्डोऽपि न विशुध्यति ॥ ६१ ॥
 प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
 तस्माद्धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानन्तु निष्फलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 धर्मा यदि भवेत् स्नातात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
 नक्तन्दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनान्तु का कथा ॥ ६३ ॥
 पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
 यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥

रागो द्वेषश्च मोहश्च ईर्ष्या तृष्णा च सर्व्वदा ।
 पापानां मूलमाख्यातं नैषां स्नानेन शोधनम् ॥ ६५ ॥
 आत्मात्मीयग्रहादेते सम्भवन्तीह जन्मिनाम् ।
 अविद्याहेतुकः सोऽपि अविद्या भ्रान्तिरिष्यते ॥ ६६ ॥
 रौप्यबुद्धिर्यथा शुक्तौ शुक्तिदृष्टे निवर्त्तते ।
 नैरात्म्यदर्शनात् सापि निर्मूलमवसीदति ॥ ६७ ॥
 सर्पबुद्धिर्यथा रज्जौ रज्जुदृष्टे निवर्त्तते ।
 सर्पबुद्धिः पुनस्तत्र नैव स्यादिह जन्मनि ॥ ६८ ॥
 सत्यबुद्धिस्तथाऽत्रापि वज्रज्ञानान्निवर्त्तते ।
 न भूयः सम्भवेत्तत्र दग्धबीज इवाङ्कुरः ॥ ६९ ॥
 नैरात्म्यशुचिसंस्पृष्टः पिण्डः प्रकृतिनिर्मलः ।
 तस्य सन्तापने धर्मः कथं बालैर्विकल्पितः ॥ ७० ॥
 चन्द्रोदयव्ययश्चापि अपक्षतिथिकल्पना ।
 सूर्योदयव्ययेनापि दिवारात्रिव्यवस्थितिः ॥ ७१ ॥
 पूर्वादिव्यवहाराख्यः शब्दत्रयविकल्पना ।
 वारनक्षत्रराश्यादि सर्व्वलोका विकल्पितम् ॥ ७२ ॥
 शीतोष्णवर्षणापेक्षं तथैवमृतुकल्पना ।
 स्वकर्मफलभोगोऽयं शुभाशुभग्रहादितः ॥ ७३ ॥
 अविद्याकर्द्दमालिप्तं चित्तचिन्तामणिः पुमान् ।
 प्रवृत्तः क्षालितुं विद्वान् कोऽविद्यां वृहयेत्पुनः ॥ ७४ ॥
 न वारतिथिनक्षत्रदेशकालाद्यपेक्षणात् ।
 विहरन्निर्विकल्पस्तु निर्निमित्तमशङ्कितः ॥ ७५ ॥
 यद्यदिन्द्रियमार्गत्वं यायात्तत्तत् स्वभावतः ।
 सुसमाहितयोगेन सर्व्वबुद्धमयं वहेत् ॥ ७६ ॥
 चक्षुर्विरोचनो बुद्धः श्रवणो वज्रशून्यकः ।
 घ्राणश्च परमाद्यैस्तु पद्मनर्त्तेश्वरो मुखम् ॥ ७७ ॥
 कायः श्रीहरको राजा वज्रसत्त्वश्च मानसम् ।
 एवं सम्यक् यदा योगी विचरेत् करुणात्मकः ॥ ७८ ॥
 सिद्धान्तो निर्विकल्पोऽसौ स्थिरकल्पस्तु धौधनः ।
 यथेष्टचेष्टायाद्वारौ सर्व्वभुक् सर्व्वकृत्तथा ॥ ७९ ॥

सर्वकामक्रियाकारी यथा रुचिरचेष्टितम् ।
 उत्थितो वा निषण्णो वा चक्रमो वा स्वयन्तथा ॥ ८० ॥
 अमण्डलप्रविष्टो वा सर्वावरणवानपि ।
 स्वाधिदैवतयोगात्मा मन्दपुण्योऽपि सिध्यति ॥ ८१ ॥
 अनेन सर्वसौरित्वं सर्वबुद्धत्वमेव च ।
 जन्मनीहैव तत्त्वज्ञः संप्राप्नोति न संशयः ॥ ८२ ॥
 यथा प्राकृतको लोको योगिलोकेन बाध्यते ।
 बाध्यन्ते धीविशेषेण योगिनोऽप्युत्तरोत्तरैः ॥ ८३ ॥
 महाप्रज्ञा महोपाया महाकृपाधिमोक्षतः ॥
 महायानसमुद्दिष्टं महासत्त्वस्य गोचरम् ॥ ८४ ॥
 यत्कल्पनामसंख्यायै न प्राप्तं बद्धभिर्मतैः ।
 जन्मन्यत्रैव बुद्धत्वं प्राप्यते न च संशयः ॥ ८५ ॥
 महायानस्य माहात्म्यात् पुण्यज्ञानस्य सम्भवः ।
 सर्वज्ञत्वपदं रम्यं सद्यो जन्मनि लभ्यते ॥ ८६ ॥
 आगमश्रुतिचिन्ता तु महायाने तु गृह्यते ।
 आश्रयानुश्रयाभेदाद्यानभेदः प्रकाश्यते ॥ ८७ ॥
 अन्यत्र बोधिमोक्षोऽयमन्यथा बोधिचारिका ॥
 अन्या चित्तविशुद्धिश्च फलमन्यदिहोच्यते ॥ ८८ ॥
 समीपं निर्मलादर्शं चिरं निर्मलचक्षुषः ।
 यथा भाति सुविस्पष्टं स्वच्छप्रकृतिनिर्मलम् ॥ ८९ ॥
 विधूतकल्पनाजालं विस्पष्टशुद्धचेतसा ।
 योगिनाञ्च तथा ज्ञानं प्रज्ञानिर्मलदर्पणैः ॥ ९० ॥
 सूर्यकान्तसमाश्लिष्टसूर्यकान्तमणौ यथा ।
 सहसा प्रज्वलत्यग्निः समर्थः स्वार्थसाधने ॥ ९१ ॥
 अपास्तकल्पनाजालं सूर्यकान्तनिभं मनः ।
 प्रज्ञासूर्यांशुसंश्लिष्टं तद्वज्ज्वलति योगिनाम् ॥ ९२ ॥
 काष्ठद्वयनिघर्षेण यथा ज्वलति पावकः ।
 आदिमध्यान्तसंशुद्धः स वै वस्तुप्रसाधकः ॥ ९३ ॥
 प्रज्ञोपायसमायोगाद्योगाद् ज्ञानं तथा विदुः ।
 यथैवैकप्रदीपोऽयं वर्त्यन्तरसमाश्रितः ॥ ९४ ॥

यथा स्थानं यथा स्वार्थं करोत्युच्चैः प्रकाशनम् ।
 नानाधिमुक्तिसत्त्वानां यथाकृत्यमनुष्ठयेत् ॥ ९५ ॥
 निर्दोषं शीतलं हृद्यं सर्व्वव्याधिविनाशनम् ।
 प्रज्ञाक्षीरमहोपायत्रिरत्नमथनोत्थितम् ॥ ९६ ॥
 स्फुरणानन्तमूर्त्तिस्तु प्रज्ञोपायविभावनैः ।
 विधिज्ञो हि यथा कश्चित् क्षीरादमृतमुद्धरेत् ॥ ९७ ॥
 विशुद्धधर्मधातुः स शुभाशुभविनाशनः ।
 यथा लतासमुद्भूतं फलपुष्पसमन्वितम् ॥ ९८ ॥
 यथैकक्षणासंबोधिः संभारद्वयसंयुता ।
 धर्षणाकर्षणादिकम् ॥ ९९ ॥
 मद्यमांसरतो योगी कुर्व्वनप्युपलभ्यते ।
 मादर्शः समीक्ष्यते ॥ १०० ॥
 महायाने यतोऽद्यापि मन्त्रसामर्थ्यदर्शनात् ।
 मातृदुहितसम्बन्ध ॥ १०१ ॥
 जगदाह तथागतः ।
 पञ्च बुद्धात्मकं शुक्रं शोणितञ्चापि तादृशम् ॥ १०२ ॥
 तन्मयः खलु पिण्डोऽयं को विप्रः कश्च वान्त्यजः ।
 सर्व्वं शरीरं खलु भिन्नवः ॥ १०३ ॥
 अनित्यं दुःखशून्यञ्च न जातिर्न च जातिवान् ।
 कैवर्त्तीगर्भसम्भूतः कश्चित्च ॥ १०४ ॥
 चित्तं यथा सुखं ध्यायन् सम्बुद्धोऽयमनागतः ।
 सर्व्वकामोपभोगोऽस्तु रमथ मुक्ततोऽभयात् ॥ ११२ ॥
 मा भैष्ठा नास्ति वः पापं समयो दुरतिक्रमः ।
 मन्त्रसंस्कृतकाष्ठादि देवत्वमधिगच्छति ॥ ११३ ॥
 किं पुनः ज्ञानवान् कायः कार्य्यमोहविचेष्टितम् ।
 प्राकृतत्वमहङ्कारं परित्यज्य समाहितः ॥ ११४ ॥
 प्रज्ञोपायविधानेन क्रियामिमाङ्गमाचरेत् ।
 पङ्कजातं यथा पद्मं पङ्कदोषैर्न लिप्यते ॥ ११५ ॥
 विकल्पवासनादोषैस्तथा योगी न लिप्यते ।
 अनादिवासनापङ्कैर्विलिप्तं चित्तरत्नकम् ॥ ११६ ॥
 प्रज्ञोपायजलेनैव ।
 स्वाधिदैवतयोगस्य स्थिरचित्तस्य धीमतः ॥ ११७ ॥

मुक्तः कुट्टिमैघैश्च भासते चित्तभास्करः ।
 सहसा कल्पना घटे ॥ ११८ ॥
 प्रकृत्या निर्मलः स्वच्छो ज्ञानदीपः प्रकाशते ।
 सुप्रसिद्धानि भूतानि क्षित्यग्निजलवायवः ॥ ११९ ॥
 क्रियन्ते ह्यन्यथा विज्ञैर्मन्त्रसामर्थ्ययोगतः ।
 सर्ववादपरित्यज्य समाचरेत् ॥ १२० ॥
 यस्य मन्त्रस्य सामर्थ्यं सूक्ष्मदेवोऽपि सिध्यति ।
 स्त्रीरत्नं न परित्याज्यं बोधिचित्तं तथा गुरुम् ॥ १२१ ॥
 न ह्यात्मा प्राणिनः केऽपि समयानप्यधिष्ठयेत् ।
 महारत्नं सकर्पूरं रक्तचन्दनयोजितम् ॥ १२२ ॥
 अलिवच्चादिकञ्चैव पञ्चैतानप्यधिष्ठयेत् ।
 अन्यैश्च समयैर्द्रव्यैश्चित्तस्योत्कर्षकारकैः ॥ १२३ ॥
 मारुतक्षोभशान्त्यर्थं प्रीणयेच्चित्तवच्चिणम् ।
 मक्षिकापदमात्रेण विषेणाप्यभिभूयते ॥ १२४ ॥
 अणुमात्रां घृणां लज्जां दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ।
 आन्तरालिकभावस्तु व्यर्थो वै पतनं यथा ॥ १२५ ॥
 गुरोराज्ञाञ्च मुद्राञ्च क्वायामपि न लङ्घयेत् ।
 गुणास्तस्य परं ग्राह्यं दोषा नैव कदाचन ॥ १२६ ॥
 भयुद्धं(?) वाचरं विज्ञाः स्वपरायतनमेव वा ।
 आचार्यः परमो देवः पूजनीयः प्रयत्नतः ।
 स्वयं वज्रधरो राजा साक्षाद्रूपेण संस्थितः ॥ १२७ ॥
 यथोदकमणिः सम्यक् कलुषोदकशोषकः ।
 सद्दर्माणस्तथा प्रोक्ताश्चित्तरत्नविशोधकः ॥ १२८ ॥
 शर्धावान् पूज्यते क्वापि प्रज्ञाचक्षुर्विवर्जितः ।
 उत्पादयेदतः प्रज्ञामागमाधिगमात्मिकाम् ॥ १२९ ॥
 श्राद्धो बज्रश्रुतः प्राज्ञो प्रकृत्या करुणात्मकः ।
 जगद्दुःखविनाशाय सुखोपायं स विन्दति ॥ १३० ॥
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय यन्मयोपार्जितं शुभं ।
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय तेनास्तु सुखिनो जनाः ॥
 कृतिरियमार्यदेवपादानामिति ॥
 स्वपरार्थहेतुना स्वात्र हरितत्वेति शुभं मये लिखितम् ।
 यथात्मानः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनान्तथा ।

Note on a Dialect of Gujarātī discovered in the District of Midnapur.—By

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[Read July, 1898.]

Several interesting facts have come to light during the progress of the Linguistic Survey. Amongst them may be mentioned the discovery of a number of people who speak a dialect of Gujarātī in the Dāntan thānā of the Bengal District of Midnapur.

Amongst the languages returned to me as spoken in that District was Siyālgirī. The Siyālgirs are a criminal, nomadic tribe, numbering about 120 souls, who have a language of their own. They are not mentioned by Dalton or by Mr. Risley in their Ethnographical works. This language was unintelligible to the other inhabitants of the District, and was believed "to resemble Santālī." This was an easy supposition to make, as there are some 118,000 Santālīs in the District, whose language is equally unintelligible to the multitude.

In order to obtain materials for the second part of the Survey, specimens of every language spoken in each District are being collected. The specimens are all to consist of translations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and in order to assist the preparation of these, books of translations of the parable which had been already made into the principal languages of India have been distributed to the translators. Included in these last was a Gujarātī version. In sending the Siyālgirī version to me, the Collector of Midnapur drew attention to the remarkable points of resemblance between it and the Gujarātī version to which I have just alluded. An examination of the Siyālgirī specimen fully justified the Collector's remarks. The very first sentence is almost pure Gujarātī. The resemblance was so unexpected that I thought it advisable to make further enquiries, so as to make sure that the specimen is a genuine one. There can now be no doubt on that point. The translation had originally been obtained through the kind offices of Babu Krishna Kisor Acharji, the Secretary of the Midnapur District Board, and that gentleman has been good enough to send me the following note on the subject.

“A Sub-Inspector of Schools under the District Board was deputed to Dāntan with copies of the English and Bengali versions of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and he got the parable translated into the Siyālgirī dialect with the help of two men belonging to that tribe and of the Sub-Inspector of Police, Dāntan.

These two Siyālgirīs were both by their age and intelligence, best able to translate the parable, and as they could speak both Bengali and Hindī the parable was fully and correctly explained to them before they translated it, and so it is certain that they perfectly understood what they had to translate.

I then went through the translation very carefully, and by comparing it with the specimens of other dialects given in the printed book became convinced that it was altogether a separate dialect resembling Gujarātī.

Neither the Sub-Inspector of Schools nor the Sub-Inspector of Police knows Gujarātī, and I do not think the two Siyālgirīs who translated the parable of the Prodigal Son into the language spoken by them have ever heard of Gujarāt or know anything of Gujarātī.

In these circumstances there is I should think no room for doubt that the specimen sent correctly represents the dialect spoken by the Siyālgirīs.

I have since obtained some additional particulars relating to the Siyālgirīs which I beg to give below with a view to facilitate their identification with any other tribe in India.

Unfortunately there is nothing like tradition prevalent among them as to whence they came and when they came to Dāntan. This is apparently due to their having been a wandering tribe for many generations before they came and settled in this district. People like the Siyālgirīs generally have a short memory, and they do not appear to have any songs or ballads in their language throwing any light on their previous history.

They do not even know whether there are any other sections of their tribe living in any other part of India.

In this district the Siyālgirīs are found in the following villages:—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Nimpur. | 4. Dhukurda. |
| 2. Gōmunda. | 5. Saipur. |
| 3. Lālmōhanpatna. | |

And also in Suga and Simla in District Balasore.

From the information that I have been able to collect regarding this tribe it would seem that they first appeared in this district about 150 years ago.

During this period both their manners and customs have become thoroughly Hinduised.

They are now divided into four classes:—

- | | |
|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Jānā. | 3. Dās. |
| 2. Pātrā or Pātar. | 4. Har. |

All these are Hindu patronyms.

How they became so subdivided—either by intermarriage with their Hindu neighbours, or by their desire to raise themselves up to the level of

the latter by assuming their patronyms—is not known. But the contempt with which they are treated by the Hindūs, owing to their thieving propensity, precludes the possibility of intermarriage between these two classes of people. Indeed the name of Siyālgirī has become a bye-word—a term of reproach—and whenever a Hindū takes to thieving as his profession he is said to have turned a Siyālgirī.

The Siyālgirīs have Brāhmaṇs for their priests, and so they have lost all traces of their original religion—if they had any when they first came into the district. These Brāhmaṇs do not appear to have come with them, for most of those who officiate as priests at the religious ceremonies performed by the Siyālgirīs belong to the class of low-caste indigenous Brāhmaṇs, and in society they occupy the same position as the Brāhmaṇs of Muchīs, Chamārs, and other similar castes.

They worship the same gods and goddesses as their Hindū neighbours. But their widows remarry and they bury their dead.

They do not appear to have any peculiar custom as to inheritance. As most of them are generally very poor and leave very little property when they die, the Siyālgirīs abide by the decision arrived at by their priests in the event of any dispute arising as to inheritance in any particular case.

I do not think these details will be of any material help in tracing the origin of this tribe whose appearance in Midnapur, occurring at a time beyond the memory of the present generation, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Their features also do not give any clue as to their origin. If they had any peculiarity it has disappeared altogether, and the Siyālgirīs can now be hardly distinguished from ordinary Bengali peasants.

It is therefore through their dialect alone that their origin can now be traced, and it is for these reasons that I give here the Siyālgirī equivalents for “salt” and “curry”—the two most common necessities of life—which they call *मिठु* (*mithu* = sweet) and *खालन्* (*Khālan* for Hindi *Sālan*) respectively.

The other peculiarities of their dialect will appear from the specimen already submitted.

An examination of the specimen shows that the language is a variety of the language of the Bhils. The Bhils speak a corrupt form of Gujarātī, and Siyālgirī agrees with Bhilī when it differs from the standard form of that language. Thus, the Gujarātī for “I” is *hū*, but the Bhilī is *mō*, and the Siyālgirī is *mu*. There are some words which, so far as I am aware, are not in Bhilī, and which I have been unable to identify as belonging to any known language, Muṇḍā, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, or Aryan, of India. Such are *badithēi* meaning “against,” *āgā* meaning “father,” and *khām-lōyān* “to hear.”

I may mention that an excellent grammar and vocabulary of the Bhil language has been prepared by the Rev. C. S. Thompson.* The

* Ahmadabad, United Printing Press, 1895.

habitat of the Bhīls is to the south of Mēwār, where the Central Provinces, Rajputānā, and Gujarāt meet. As already stated, their language is a dialect of Gujarātī, but, according to Mr. Thompson, there is, in the vocabulary, a substratum, of about six per cent. of words, which, while not corrupted from Gujarātī or Arabic and Persian, have no connexion with the Dravidian Languages of Southern India, or with Gōṇḍī, Santālī, or Kōl. The Siyālgirī seems to have preserved some of these words, which have been lost to Bhīlī. It would be interesting, if possible, to trace the wanderings of this tribe from their original home.

The following is the Siyālgirī version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son :—

एक्	मरदना	बय	दिक्का	थेइ ।	तिन्ह	बिचे	नान्ह
<i>Ēk</i>	<i>maradnā</i>	<i>baya</i>	<i>dikrā</i>	<i>thēi.</i>	<i>Tinha</i>	<i>bicē</i>	<i>nānha</i>
A	man-to	two	sons	were.	Their-of	among	(by) younger
दिक्का	आपनु	बाबाने	कहे ।	बाब !	मार	हिंच	
<i>dikrā</i>	<i>āpnu</i>	<i>bābānē</i>	<i>kahē,</i>	<i>‘bāb !</i>	<i>māra</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	
son	his-own	father-to	it-was-said,	‘O-father!	my	share	
मार	दे ।	इन्ह	बभइन्	हिंच	आलह	आलह	करि
<i>māra</i>	<i>dē.</i>	<i>Inha</i>	<i>babhain</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	<i>ālaha</i>	<i>ālaha</i>	<i>kari</i>
me-to	give.’	By him	thereupon	share	separate	separate	having-done
दिध ।	थोड़ा	दन्	रहिन्		नान्ह	दिक्का	
<i>didha.</i>	<i>Thōṛā</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>rahin</i>		<i>nānha</i>	<i>dikrā</i>	
was-given.	Few	days	remaining	(with his father)	younger	son	
आपनु	खब्	हिंच	लेइन्	एग्लस्त	पारह	गिय ।	आउर् तिथे
<i>āpnu</i>	<i>khāb</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	<i>lēin</i>	<i>ēglasta</i>	<i>pārha</i>	<i>giya.</i>	<i>Āur tīthē</i>
his-own	all	share	taking	distant	country-to	went.	And there
घनु	खरचपत्र	करिन्	आपनु	खब्		उड़ाइ	
<i>ghanu</i>	<i>kharach-patra</i>	<i>karin</i>	<i>āpnu</i>	<i>khāb</i>		<i>urāi</i>	
much	expenditure	doing	his-own	all (whole property)		wasting	
दिधु ।	सो	खब्	खरचपत्र	किधि	तो		
<i>didhu.</i>	<i>Sō</i>	<i>khāb</i>	<i>kharach-patra</i>	<i>kidhi</i>	<i>tō</i>		
was-given	He	all	expenditure	doing	that		
(was thrown away).		(having ran through the whole property)					
देखेहे	बड़ि	आकाल्	पड़ि गिय ।	हिय	बड़ि	दुखी	
<i>dēkhēhē</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>ākāl</i>	<i>pari-giya.</i>	<i>Hiya</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>dukhī</i>	
country-in	great	famine	fell.	He	great	distressed	

थइ गिय । तिन्ह एलातो जाउ तोच् गाम्ड़ामि एक
thai-giya. Tinha ēlātō jāu tōc gāmṛāmi ēk
 became. He then going that village-inhabiting one

मानखान् हेल भालि रिह । तिन्ह आप्नु बिले
mān-khān hēla jhāli riha. Tinha āpnu bilē
 man-of-rank shelter taking remained. By him his-own field-in

घुस्रि चरान सुक्लि दिध । घुस्रि जो बत्रिया खाइन्
ghusri carāna mukli didha Ghusri jō chatriya khāin
 swine to-feed sending was-given. Swine what husks were-eating

तो देइन् आप्ना पेट् भराउ खोजे तिन्ह
tō dēin āpnā pēṭ bharaū khōjē. Tinhē
 those giving his-own belly to-fill it-was-sought. Him-to

किन्ह दिधु कोनि । पाकु खाक्हाउन् तिन्ह
kinha didhu kōni. Pāchu khāk-hāun tinha
 by-any-one was-given not. Afterwards being-awakened by-him

कऊ । मार बाबान् केट्ला भाना दर्मो-पाउन् चाकेर्
kahū, 'māra bābān kēṭlā jhānā darmō-pāun cākēr
 it-was-said, 'my father-of how-many men wage-getting Servant

दर्कार घनु च्येय खादु पाँवे । आ सु ह्याँखे भूँखे
darkār ghanu chēya khādu pāwē, ā mu hyā'khē bhū'khē
 need more than food get, And I here of-hunger

मर । सु हाँत उठिन् मार आगाकेने पर्ह जाँउ ।
maru. Mu hā'ta uṭhin māra āgākēnē parhā jā'u.
 am-dying. I from-here rising my father-of in-vicinity will-go.

तिन्ह कहिस् बाब ! सु गोखाँइ बदिथेइ तुँऊ आगल्
Tinha kahis, "bāb ! mu gōkhā'ī badithēi tū'hu āgal
 To-him will-say, "father! by-me God against thy before

पाप् किधु । सु आउ तार् दिक्का बुलि ओलखि
pāp kidhu. Mu āu tār dikrā buli ōlakhi
 sin has-been-done. I again thy son being-called described

पारिस् कोनि । मिन्ह तु एक दर्मो-पाउन चाकेर् करि
pāris kōni. Minhē tu ēk darmō-pāun cākēr kari
 will-be-able not. Me-to thou a wage-getting servant making

राख । पाकु तिन्ह उठिन् आप्नु आगाकेने गिय ।
rākh." 'Pāchu tinha uṭhin āpnu āgākēnē giya.
 keep." 'Afterwards he having-risen his-own father-to went.

तिन्ह एग्लस्ते रचे तेक्रा आगा जोवान पावे ।
Tinha ēglastē rahē tēkrā āgā jōwān pāwē.
 Him at-distance remaining by-his father to-see it-was-got.

इन्ह दयाबहि लासिन् जाइन् । उण्डेलमे
Inha dayābahi lāsin jāin, undēl-mē
 By-him being-kind (affectionate) running going, by-the-neck

लेइन् । बुच्ड़ा दिधा । दिक्रा तिनहे कऊँ,
lēin, bucrā didhā. Dikrā tinhē kahū,
 taking, kisses were-given. By-the-son him to it-was-said,

बाब ! आउ गोखाँइ बदिथेइ तेरा आगल् पाप् किधु ।
‘bāb! āu gōkhāi badithēi tērā āgal pāp kidhu.
 ‘O-father! by-me God against thy before sin has-been-done.

सु आउर् तार् दिक्रा बुलि ओलखि पारिस् कोनि ।
mu āur tār dikrā buli ōlakhi pāris kōni.’
 I again thy son being-called described will-be-able not.’

बाब आप्ना चाकेरने कऊँ, हेलु खाउ लुक्ड़ा
Bāb āpnā cākērnē kahū, ‘hēlu khāu lukrā
 By-the-father his-own servant-to it-was-said, ‘soon good cloth

लि आइन् इन्हे पराइहा दे । इन्हा हाते इँटी
li āin inhē parāihā dē. Inhā hātē iṭi
 taking bringing him-to put-on give. His hand-to ring

आउर् गोड़े खामड़ा दे । हेमे इन्हे लेइन् खादु-खाउन्
āur gōrē khāmṛā dē. Hēmē inhē lēin khādu-khāun
 and feet-to shoes give. (Let)-us him-to taking dinner-eating

खुसी रहिन् जेसोँ मार दिक्रा मरि गिय जीवत् थाइन्
khusī rahin. Jēsō māra dikrā mari-giya, jībat thāin;
 merry remain. For my son dead-went (was), alive is.;

हाजि गियत पाओत लायह । तार् बाद खुसी थायन्
hāji giyata pāota lāyaha.’ Tār bād khusī thāyan
 lost-went (was) found has-been.’ After-this in-happiness to-remain

लागा ।

lāgā.

began.

तिन्ह मोटो दिक्रा बिल्मो ऊत । तो आउन् घिरे
Tinha mōṭō dikra bilmō huta. Tō āun ghirē
 His elder son field-in was. By-him coming house-to

लाचु बाजनु खाम्-लोयान पाउँ । तब् तिनह् एक चाकेर्ने
lācu bājnu khām-lōyān pāũ. Tab tinha ēk cākērnē
 dancing music to-hear was-got. Then by-him a servant-to

कान्हे बोलाइन् पुकु, आ खब् खुं । सो
kānhē bōlāyin puchu, 'ā khab khũ,' Sō
 near calling it-was-asked, 'this all what (is),' By him

इन्हे कऊं, तार् भाइय आव तार् आगा
inhē kahũ, 'tār bhāiya āwa tār āgā
 him-to it-was-said, 'thy brother having-come (by)-thy father

खाउ खादु तैयार् किधु, किन्से तिनह् तिनहे
khāu khādu taiyār kidhu, kinsē tinha tinhē
 dinner preparation has-been-done, because by him him-to
 has been prepared

खुंथिउ-खाउ जोवान् पाउँ । तिनह् रिग् किध ।
khũthiu-khāu jōwān pāũ. Tinha rig kidhu.
 in-healthy-state to-see it-has-been got.' By him anger was-done.

घर्मिको जाइ कोनि । पाकु तिनह् आगा बाहार्
Gharmikō jāi kōni. Pāchu tinha āgā bāhār
 House-to went not. Afterwards (by) his father out-side

आउन् । बुझाइन् किधु । सो जवाब् कर्के आप्ना
āun bujhāin kidhu. Sō jawāb karkē āpnā
 coming consoling (him) was-done. He answer making his-own

आगाने कहे, एत्ना बरख्-से तारि सेवा कर ।
āgānē kahē, 'etnā barakh-sē tārī sēbā karu.
 father-to says, 'so many years-from thy service has-been-done.

तारि आत् केदे पर्हिकोला कोनि । तो तु मन्हे
tārī āt kēdē parhikōlā kōni. Tō tu manhē
 thy word at-any-time been-disobeyed not. Still thou me-to

केदे एक बक्रिनु चेलिउको देइनि, जो मार
kēdē ēk bakrinu cēliukō dēi-ni, jō māru
 at any time a goat-of kid-to give-not, so that my

बँधुने लेइन् हेँखे । तार् एहि दिक्का
bādhunē lēin hēkhē. Tār ēhi dikrā
 friends-to taking (we)-may-make-merry. Thy this son

जो कहबिन् खाते रहिन् तार् खाब्ज खादु । हिय
jō kahabin khātē rahin tār khābja khādu, hiya
 by-whom harlots with remaining thy property eaten-up, he

जब आव तु इनिगुड़िये खादुखाउ तैयार् किधु ।
jab āwa tu ini-guriyē khādu-khāu taiyār kidhu.
 when came by-thee for-him dinner prepared was-made.'

सो तिन्हे कऊँ, दिक्का तु मार बरोब्बर रह ।
Sō tinhē kahū, 'dikrā tu mār barobbar raha.
 By him him-to it-was-said, 'O-son thou my always art.

मार जटलु था सो खब तार । खुसी
Māru jēṭlu thā sō khab tāru. Khusī
 My all-that is it all (is) thine. (Being) merry (for his return)

जाइन् रिह । तार् एयब् भाइय मरि गियत जीबत् थाइन्
jāin riha. Tār ēyab bhāiya mari giyata, jībat thāin
 right is. Thy this brother dead went (was), alive being

आव, हाजि गियत पाँव
āwa; hāji giyata, pāwa.
 has-come; lost went (was), has-been-found.'

On Primary Suffixes in Kāçmīrī.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.,
PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read August, 1898.]

These are treated in the *Kṛdanta-prakriyā* of Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. They form nouns (including adjectives and participles) by direct accretion to verbal roots. Many of them would be properly classed as verbal forms.

1. **आन् ān.** This is used to make present participles. It does not change for gender or number, and is added direct to the root (ix. i. 2).¹ Thus,—

ROOT.	PRESENT PARTICIPLE.
कर <i>kar</i> , do.	करान् <i>karān</i> , doing.
बोझ <i>bōz</i> , hear.	बोझान् <i>bōzān</i> , hearing.
If the root ends in a vowel, the letter व <i>w</i> is inserted (3). Thus,—	
दि <i>di</i> , give.	दिवान् <i>diwān</i> , giving.
खि <i>khi</i> , eat.	खिवान् <i>khyawān</i> , eating.
चि <i>ci</i> , drink.	चिवान् <i>cyawān</i> , drinking.

Note that all verbs ending in इ *i* change इ *i* to य *ya*, except नि *ni*, take, दि *di*, give, यि *yi*, come.

This form is frequently used adverbially (4). Thus परान् परान् करन् *parān, parān, karun*, coming, coming, he made it.

This form corresponds to the Sanskrit present participle.

2. **इथ् *ith*.** Used to form a past participle absolute or conjunctive participle, corresponding to the Sanskrit conjunctive participle in त्वा *tvā*, or य *ya* (त्य *tya*). Thus,—

कर <i>kar</i> , do.	करिथ् <i>karith</i> , having made.
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¹ References, here, and elsewhere, to Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

A preceding long आ *ā* (not short अ *a*) is modified. Thus,—

दार *dār*, place.

दारिथ् *dārith*.

ओ *ō* and ए *ē* become ऊ *ū* and ई *ī* respectively before this prefix (14,15).

Thus,—

बोञ्ज *bōz*, hear.

बूञ्जिथ् *būzith*, having heard.

मेन् *mēn*, measure.

मीनिथ् *mīnith*, having measured.

If a root ends in इ *i*, the final इ *i*, together with the suffix become यथ् *yāth* (ix. i. 7, 8). Thus,—

हि *hi*, take.

ह्यथ् *hyāth*, having taken.

खि *khi*, eat.

ख्यथ् *khyāth*, having eaten.

Exceptions are—

नि *ni*, take.

निथ् *nith*, having taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिथ् *dith*, having given.

दि *yi*, come.

दिथ् *yith*, having come.

When the root बुड *wuḍ*, fly, signifies *mōkṣa*, final release, it becomes बुजिथ् *wujith*, having obtained final release; but बुडिथ् *wuḍith*, having flown (ix. i. 9).

The root म॒ष्राव *maṣ^arāv*, cause to forget, usually forms म॒ष्राविथ् *maṣ^arāvith*, regularly, but in the phrase 'to cause to forget death,' it becomes मा॒षविथ् *māṣawith*. Thus,—

मरुन् मा॒षविथ् *marun māṣawith*, having caused (so and so) to forget death (ix. i. 10):

The suffix क्यथ् *kyāth*, may be added to this form. Thus, करिथ् क्यथ् *karith kyāth*, having done (ix. i. 6).

3. इ *i* (ix. i. 11–15). This is used instead of इथ् *ith*, when the word is repeated to represent frequentative action. In this case both a preceding अ *a* and a preceding आ *a* are modified. Thus,—

कर *kar*, do.

क॒रि क॒रि *kārⁱ kārⁱ*, having made over and over again.

मार *mār*, beat.

मा॒रि मा॒रि *mārⁱ mārⁱ*, having beaten repeatedly.

कार *kār*, boil.

का॒रि का॒रि *kārⁱ kārⁱ*, having boiled repeatedly.

As in the case of इथ *ith*, preceding ए *ē* and ओ *ō* become ई *ī* and ऊ *ū* respectively. Thus,—

चेट *tsēt*, pound.

चैटि चैटि *tsīṭi tsīṭi*, having pound-
ed continually.

बोज *bōz*, hear.

बूजि बूजि *būzi būzi*, having heard
continually.

So also we have—

बेह *bēh*, sit.

बिहि बिहि *bihī bihī*, having sat
continually.

When a root ends in इ *i*, the final vowel together with the suffix become य *ya* (ě) ; or the form in थ *th* may be used (12). Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

ख्य ख्य *khě khě* or ख्यथ् ख्यथ् *khyāth khyāth*, having eaten fre-
quently.

चि *ci*, drink.

च्य च्य *cě cě* or च्यथ् च्यथ् *cyāth cyāth*,
having drunk frequently.

Exceptions are, as usual,—

नि *ni*, take.

नि नि *ni ni* or निथ् निथ् *nith nith*,
having taken frequently.

दि *di*, give.

दि दि *di di* or दिथ् दिथ् *dith dith*,
having given frequently.

यि *yi*, come.

यि यि *yi yi* or यिथ् यिथ् *yith yith*,
having come frequently.

4. वुनु *wun^u* (fem. वञ्ज *wañ*; plur. masc. वनि *wañi*, fem. वञ्ज *wañě*)
used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 25-27). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करवुनु *karawun^u*, a maker.

If a root ends in इ *i*, अव *aw* is inserted and the इ *i* changed to य *y*. Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

ख्यववुनु *khyawawun^u*.

चि *ci*, drink.

च्यववुनु *cyawawun^u*.

Exceptions are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निववुनु *niwawun^u*.

दि *di*, give.

दिववुनु *diwawun^u*.

यि *yi*, come.

यिववुनु *yiwawun^u*.

5. वोल् *wōl^u*, (fem. वाच्यञ् *wājēñ*; plur. masc. वालि *wālⁱ*, fem. वाच्यञ् *wājēñē*) is also used to form nouns of agency. For examples, see below (ix. i. 28-31).

6. ग्राख् *grākh* (fem. ग्राकञ् *grākañ*, *vide ante*, p. 34). Also used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 28-31).

These two last suffixes are really secondary ones, (see Sec. Suff. No. 9, 10). They are added to abstract verbal nouns, especially to that in उन् *un* (No. 16), the उन् *un* being changed to अन् *an*. Thus,—

कर *kar*, make. कर्णन् *karun*, making. करन्वोल् *karanwōl^u*, or
करन्ग्राख् *karangrākh*, a
maker.

पर *par*, read. परण् *parun*, reading. परन्वोल् *paranwōl^u*, or
परन्ग्राख् *parangrākh*.

If the abstract noun is feminine (see No. 31m) and ends in न् *n*, that न् *n* is changed to ञ् *ñ^u* or ञ् *ñ*.

ज्ञान *zān*, (31m) know. ज्ञान् ज्ञाञ्ज्वोल् (ज्ञाञ्ज्वोल्) *zāññ^uwōl^u*
zān (fem.) or ज्ञानुन् *zānun* *zāññwōl^u*) or ज्ञानन्वोल् *zānanwōl^u*,
(masc.) knowledge. or ज्ञाञ्ग्राख् *zāññgrākh*, (ज्ञाञ्ग्राख्
zāññgrākh), or ज्ञानन्ग्राख् *zānan-*
grākh, a knower.

These two suffixes can only be used with feminine abstract nouns when the verb expresses a condition of the body or mind. Thus ज्ञान *zān*, know, expresses a condition of the mind, and therefore we can say ज्ञाञ्ज्वोल् *zāññwōl^u*. But the verb ग्राज् *graz*, roar, which also has a feminine abstract noun (see No. 31g.) ग्राज् *graz*, cannot form ग्राज्वोल् *grazwōl^u*, because the verb does not express a condition of the mind or body. We can only use the masculine abstract noun, thus, ग्राजन्वोल् *grazanwōl^u*.

If a root ends in इ *i*, the इ *i* becomes य् *y* before अन् *an*, and अन् *an* becomes अन् *ana*. Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

ख्यनवोल् *khyanawōl^u*,
ख्यनग्राख् *khyanagrākh*, } an eater.

चि *ci*, drink.

च्यनवोल् *cyanawōl^u*, a drinker.

Exceptions are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निनवोलु *ninawōl^u*, or निनग्राख् *nina-grākh*, a taker.

दि *di*, give.

दिनवोलु *dinawōl^u*, &c., a giver.

यि *yi*, come.

यिनवोलु *yinawōl^u*, &c., a comer.

7. नल् *nal*.

8. लल् *lal*.

9. अल् *al*, ल् *l*.

These three are used as follows with the roots दि *di* and दाव *dāv* in special senses, all obscene. Thus,—

दिनल् *dinal*, an unchaste woman.

माज्यदिनल् *mājēdinal*, “*mātrgāmī*,” अज्यदिनल् *bēñēdinal*, “*svasṛgāmī*,”
कोरिदिनल् *kōridinal*, “*kanyāgāmī*.”

माज्यदिलल् *mājēdilal*, “*mātrgāmī*.”

दावल् *dāwal*, an unchaste woman.

माज्यदावल् *mājēdāwal*, “*mātrgāmī*,” अज्यदावल् *bēñēdāwal*, “*svasṛgāmī*,”
कोरिदावल् *kōridāwal*, &c.

माज्यदिल् *mājēdil*, “*mātrgāmī*,” &c. (ix. i. 32–35).

10. उ^u (fem. ज् ^u; plur. masc. इⁱ, fem. य^ě). This is the termination of past participles. This form is now, however, always used as a past tense, and the true participle is described later on (No. 12) (ix. i. 36–39). Examples are,—

कर *kar*, make.

कर्¹ *kar^u*, (it was) made.

पर *par*, read.

पर्¹ *par^u*, (it was) read.

खन *khan*, dig.

खनु¹ *khan^u*, (it was) dug.

This suffix is added to all transitive and impersonal verbs (*i. e.*, verbs of the first conjugation), and, as a verbal form, is used when the logical subject (in the case of the agent) is in the first or third person.

It cannot be used when it is in the second person. Thus, कर्¹ *kar^u* may mean, ‘it was done by me,’ or ‘it was done by him,’ but cannot mean ‘it was done by you.’ So अस्¹ *as^u*, it-was-laughed by me or by him.

In the case of Intransitive Verbs, it follows the conjugation of these verbs, and is only used in the case of those verbs which are known as “Listed Verbs” (*vide* A List of Kāçmīrī Verbs, *ante*, Vol. LXV, Part I, page 306). These I shall in future call verbs of the second conjugation. It is then used only in the 3rd person. Thus,—

तल *tsal*, flee. तलु *tsal^u*, he fled.

Non-listed Intransitive Verbs, which I shall in future call verbs of the third conjugation, do not use this form in त^u, but take the Aorist form in औव् *auv*, or ओव् *ōv*, used in their case for the Past third person sing. Thus,—

यठ *vyath*, be fat. यथौव् *vyathyauv*, (not यठु *vyath^u*),
he was fat.

The final व् *v* is dropped before suffixes, and we thus get यथौस् *vyathyau-s*, I was fat.

The following verbs are irregular (ix. i. 37, 38),—

चि <i>ci</i> , drink,	makes	चौव् <i>cyauv</i> (it was) drunk.
खि <i>khi</i> , eat,		खौव् <i>khyauv</i> (it was) eaten.
नि <i>ni</i> , take,		न्यूव् <i>nyūv</i> (it was) taken.

Besides this there are other irregular forms, such as द्युत् *dyut^u*, from √ *di*, ‘give’; which will be subsequently described under the head of verbs.

This suffix, त^u, is frequently met in other nouns, which are not verbal forms, e.g., यठु *vyath^u*, fat.

11. औव् *auv*, or ओव् *ōv* (fem. एय *ēy^a*; plur. masc. एय् *ēy*, fem. एय *ēy^a*).

This is the termination of the Aorist Participle of verbs of the first and second conjugations, and of the Past Participle of verbs of the third conjugation. As regards its use, see No. 10. The final व् *v* and य् *y* are omitted before suffixes. The form is an old past participle, and can be used with all verbs.

12. मतु *mat^u* (fem. मत्तु *mats^u*; plur. masc. मत्ति *matⁱ*, fem. मच्च *mats^a*). This is used to form the true Past Participle. It is compounded with No. 11, in the case of verbs of the first and second conjugations

and with No. 12 in the case of verbs of the third conjugation, and both members of the compound change for gender, number and case.

The word is also written and pronounced सुतु *mut^u*, (fem. मच्च *mats^u*; plur. masc. मति *matⁱ*, fem. मच्च *mats^a*) (ix. i. 40).

Examples of the use of this participle are,—

A. FIRST CONJUGATION. (Form 10).

कर्मतु *kar^umat^u*, or कस्सुतु *kar^umut^u*, made.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom	कर्मतु <i>kar^umat^u</i> .	कर्मच्च <i>kar^umats^u</i> .
Acc.	कर्मतिसु <i>karⁱmatⁱs</i> .	कर्मच्च <i>kar^umats^ě</i> .
Ag.	कर्मति <i>karⁱmatⁱ</i> .	कर्मच्चि <i>karⁱmat^{sⁱ}</i> .

PLURAL.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	कर्मति <i>karⁱmatⁱ</i> .	कर्मच्च <i>kar^umats^a</i> .
Acc.	कर्मत्यन् <i>karⁱmat^{yan}</i> .	कर्मच्चन् <i>kar^umats^{an}</i> .
Ag.	कर्मत्यौ <i>karⁱmat^{yan}</i> .	कर्मच्चौ <i>kar^umats^{au}</i> .

NOTE,—1. The irregular declension of the first half of the compound.

2. The feminine termination of the singular, मच्च *mats^ě*. We should (according to iv. 51) expect मच्च *mats^a*, but my paṇḍit assures me that मच्च *mats^ě* is the correct form. Compare p. 59, ante.

The above declension is as given by my paṇḍit, and is not given by Ī-k.

B. SECOND CONJUGATION. (Form 10).

चलुमतु *tsal^umat^u*, or चलुसुतु *tsal^umut^u*, fled.

Sing.	Masc.	चलुमतु <i>tsal^umat^u</i> .
	Fem.	चलुमच्च <i>tsaj^umats^u</i> (vide ante, pp. 32, 33).
Plur.	Masc.	चलिमति <i>tsalⁱmatⁱ</i> .
	Fem.	चल्यमच्च <i>tsaj^umats^a</i> .

C. THIRD CONJUGATION. (Form 11).

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	व्यथोम ^१ तु व्यथ्ये ^१ मात ^२ .	व्यथेम ^१ च व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्स ^२ .
Acc.	व्यथेम ^१ तिस् व्यथ्ये ^१ मातिस.	व्यथेम ^१ च्च व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्स ^२ ँ.
Ag.	व्यथेम ^१ न्ति व्यथ्ये ^१ माति.	व्यथेम ^१ च्चि व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्सि.

PLURAL.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	व्यथेम ^१ न्ति व्यथ्ये ^१ माति.	व्यथेम ^१ च्च व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्स ^२ .
Acc.	व्यथेम ^१ त्यन् व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्यान्.	व्यथेम ^१ च्चन् व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्सान्.
Ag.	व्यथेम ^१ त्यौ व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्यान्.	व्यथेम ^१ च्चौ व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्सां.

The following forms are irregular :—

FROM	PAST PARTICIPLE.
यि <i>yi</i> , come.	आम ^१ तु <i>āmat^२</i> .
अत्त <i>ats</i> , enter.	आम ^१ त्तु <i>tsāmat^२</i> .
नेर <i>nēr</i> , issue.	द्राम ^१ तु <i>drāmat^२</i> .
प्रस <i>pras</i> , give birth.	प्याम ^१ तु <i>pyāmat^२</i> .
जि <i>zi</i> , be born.	जाम ^१ तु <i>zāmat^२</i> .
मर <i>mar</i> , die.	मूम ^१ तु <i>mūmat^२</i> , or मूदुम ^१ तु <i>mūd^२mat^२</i> .

Of all these, except मूदुम^१तु *mūd^२mat^२*, the first number of the compound does not change for number or case. Thus,—

Sing.	Masc.	आम ^१ तु <i>āmat^२</i> .
	Fem.	आम ^१ च व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्स ^२ .
Plur.	Masc.	आम ^१ न्ति <i>āmat^२i</i> .
	Fem.	आम ^१ च्च व्यथ्ये ^१ मात्स ^२ .

The forms for मूदुमत् *mūd^umat^u* are.

Sing. Masc. मूदुमत् *mūd^umat^u*.

Fem. मूमत् *mūmat^s*.

Plur. Masc. मूदिमत्ति *mūdⁱmatⁱ*.

Fem. मूमत् *mūmat^s*.

In other words मूदुमत् *mūd^umat^u* is only used in the Masculine.

13. सुत् *mut^u*, see No. 12 सत् *mat^u*.

14. अनय् *anay*. This gives the force of the past conjunctive participle, negatived (ix. i. 51).

कर *kar*, make.

करनय् *karanay*, not having made.

गर *gar*, make.

गरनय् *garanay*, not having made.

पर *par*, read.

परनय् *paranay*, not having read.

पोठ *pōth*, be fat.

पोठनय् *pōthanay*, not having become fat.

हि *hi*, buy.

हिनय् *hēnay*, not having bought.

Irregular are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निनय् *ninay*, not having taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिनय् *dinay*, not having given.

यि *yi*, come.

यिनय् *yinay*, not having come.

15. अनि *anī*. This is the first of a series of forms, connected with the Sanskrit participle in अनियः *anīyaḥ*. It is used as an impersonal future passive participle, like the Latin *faciendum* (ix. i. 50). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करनी *karanī*, it is to be made.

पक *pak*, go.

पकनी *pakanī*, it is to be gone.

व्रथ *wōth*, rise.

व्रथनी *wōthanī*, it is to be risen
(one must rise).

चि *ci*, drink.

चनी *cēnī*, it is to be drunk.

हि *hi*, buy.

हनी *hēnī*, it is to be bought.

Irregular, as usual are,—

नि *ni* take.

निनी *ninī*, it is to be taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिनी *dinī*, it is to be given.

यि *yi*, come.

यिनी *yinī*, it is to be come.

16. उन् *un*.17. अन् *an^u*.18. उन् *un^u*.

These three are used indifferently for one another (ix. ii. 2, 3). The first is of the first declension, and the second and third of the second. Their declension is as follows :—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	करन् <i>karun</i> .	करन् <i>karan</i> .
Acc.	करनस् <i>karanas</i> .	करनन् <i>karanan</i> .
Ag.	करनन् <i>karanan</i> .	करनौ <i>karanaui</i> .
Obl. ¹	करन <i>karana</i> .	करनौ <i>karanaui</i> .
Nom.	करन् <i>karana^u</i> or करन् <i>karun^u</i> .	कर्न्नि <i>karani</i> .
Acc.	(not used).	(not used).
Ag.	कर्न्नि <i>karani</i> .	(not used).
Obl. ¹	करनि <i>karani</i> .	(not used).

If the root ends in इ *i*, the first and third forms are not used (ix. i. 21, 24). We only have forms like,—

	NOM. MASC.	ACC. SING.
खि <i>khi</i> , eat.	ख्यन् <i>khyana^u</i> .	ख्यनस् <i>khyanas</i> .
हि <i>hi</i> , buy.	ह्यन् <i>hyana^u</i> .	ह्यनस् <i>hyanas</i> .
चि <i>ci</i> , drink.	च्यन् <i>cyana^u</i> .	च्यनस् <i>cyanas</i> .

Exceptions, as usual, are,—

नि <i>ni</i> , take.	निन् or न्युन् <i>nyuna^u</i> .	निनस् <i>ninas</i> .
दि <i>di</i> , give.	दिन् or द्युन् <i>dyuna^u</i> .	दिनस् <i>dinas</i> .
यि <i>yi</i> , come.	यिन् or य्युन् <i>yyuna^u</i> .	यिनस् <i>yinas</i> .

This is used,—

(a) As an adjective.

(b) As an abstract verbal noun.

(a) As an adjective, it is equivalent to the Sanskrit participle in अनियः *anīyah*. Thus, करन् *karun* or करन् *karana^u*, means 'it is to be

¹ The oblique form is that form which the agent case assumes before post-positions.

made' (masc.). Its feminine is करञ् *karañ*. Examples of its use are,—

इह् पाठ् कुह् परन् (or परन्नु) *yih pāṭh* (masc.) *chuh parun* (or *paran^u*), this lesson is to be read.

इह् पूथि अह् परञ् *yih pūthi* (fem.) *chēh parañ* this book is to be read.

This adjective is used in a peculiar idiom with the verb गङ् *gatsḥ*, go, be proper (Cf. French *ça ira*). The past of this verb, in this sense is गङ् *gatsḥ^u*, not गौव् *gauv*. It is only used in the future and past tenses, not in the present. Examples of the idiom are (ix. i. 42).

त्तह् गङ्ख् मारन्नु (or मारन्नु) *ts^ah gatsḥakh mārann^u* (or *mārun^u*) you deserve a beating, literally you will go with propriety to be beaten.

चा गङ्गि सुह् मारन्नु *tsē gatsḥi suh mārann^u*, you ought to beat him, literally, he will go to be beaten by you.

चा गङ्गि स ज़नान मारञ् *tsē gatsḥi s^a zanān^a mārāñ*, you should beat that woman, literally, that woman will go to be beaten (fem.) by you.

चा गङ्गु सुह् न्यचिनु मारन्नु *tsē gatsḥ^u suh nēchyuv^u mārann^u*, you should have beaten that boy, lit., that boy went to be beaten by you.

चा गङ्गु स ज़नान मारञ् *tsē gatsḥ^u s^a zanān^a mārāñ*, you should have beaten that woman.

The same form is used with the verb लग *lag*, be proper, in much the same sense. This is only used in the Future and Past Conditional tenses (ix. i. 43). Thus,—

तत्तु लागि अ गङ्गु *tat^u lagi tsē gatsḥan^u*, you should go there. Here the participle is impersonal, and the phrase is literally, the going there by you will be proper. If the object is feminine, the participle must be feminine. Thus,—

अ लागि मारञ् स ज़नान *tsē lagi mārāñ s^a zanān^a*, you should beat that woman, literally, that woman will be proper to be beaten by you.

So, also in the Past Conditional तत्तु लागिहे गङ्गु *tat^u lagiḥē gatsḥun^u* one (I, you, &c.) should have gone there.

The root पज़ *paz*, be proper, is used in exactly the same way (ix. i. 44). Thus, अ पज़िहे सुह् मारन्नु *tsē paziḥē suh mārann^u* you should have beaten him. Lit. He would have been proper to be beaten by you.

Instead of the agent case, the genitive can be used, in all these idioms (ix. i. 45). Thus we may say,—

चोनु गक्कि सुह् मारनु *cyōn^u* (instead of *tsě*) *gatshi suh mārān^u*.

चाञ्ज गक्कि स ज़नान मारञ्ज *cyāñ* (fem.) *gatshi s^a zanān^a mārāñ*.

So also in the plural,—

चांनि गक्कन् तिस मारंनि *cyānⁱ* *gatshan tim mārānⁱ*, you should beat them.

चाञ्ज गक्कन् तिस मारञ्ज *cyāñě* *gatshan tim^a mārāñě*, you should beat them (fem.).

Pronominal suffixes can also be added to the main verb (not to the participle) (ix. i. 46). The formation of these suffixes will be dealt with in the chapter on verbs.

गक्कुस् करनु *gatshu-s karun^u*, it should have been done to him.

गक्कुय् करनु *gatshu-y karān^u*, it should have been done for thee.

लग्यस् करन् *lagy-as karun*, it should be done for him.

पज़ास् करन् *pazy-am karun*, it should be done for me.

(b) As a substantive, the form is used as a masculine Abstract Verbal Noun, or Infinitive (ix. ii. 2, 3 and ff). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करन् *karun*, करनु *karān^u*, or करनु *karun^u*, the act of making, to make.

The accusative singular is used with the post-position कितु or क्युतु *kyut^u* (ix. i. 17) to form a dative. *E.g.*, परनस् कितु *paranas kyut^u*, for reading. Thus,—

परनस् कितु प्रङ्ग *paranas kyut^u prang*, a couch for reading. कितु *kyut^u* is an adjective.

We thus have,—

परनस् कितु प्रङ्ग *paranas kyut^u prang*, a couch (masc. sg.) for reading.

परनस् किति गर *paranas kitⁱ gar^a*, houses (masc. pl.) for reading.

परनस् किच् चूकि *paranas kits^u cūkⁱ*, a chair (fem. sg.) for reading.

परनस् किञ् चोक्क *paranas kits^a cōkě*, chairs for reading.

In all the above it will be seen that the essential meaning of the verb is active. A couch for reading means a couch for reading something,—e.g., a book,—and the verb is not changed whatever the gender of the object may be. Thus पूथि *pūthi*, a book, is feminine, but we still say

इह पूथि (or इथ पोथ्य) परनस् कितु प्रङ्ग *yih pūthi* (or *yith pōthē*) *paranas kyut^u prang*, a couch for reading this book.

We may also use the dative of other verbal nouns in the same way. Thus, चेटनस् कितु *tsētanas kyut^u* or (No. 30d.) चेटस् कितु *tsētas* (masc.) *kyut^u*, for grinding to powder; गजनस् कितु *grazanas kyut^u* or (No. 31g.) गजि कितु *grazi* (fem.) *kyut^u*, for roaring.

But if the verb is used passively then it agrees with the subject in gender, and the form is no longer substantival but adjectival. Thus, 'a book for reading' means 'a book for being read,' and we must say,—

परञ्ज किच्चू पूथि *parañ kits^u pūthi*.

On the other hand we say परनस् किच्चू चूकि *paranas kits^u cūki*, because the phrase means a chair for reading, and not a chair for being read.

Note that when the verb is used passively, it is in the form of the *nominative* feminine, not in the accusative, although preceding किच्चू *kits^u*.

We may also use the *nominative* masculine before कितु *kyut^u* (ix. i. 22, 23) when the verb is used passively. Thus परनु (or परन् or परनु) कितु घस्तुख् *parun^u* (or *parun* or *parañ^u*) *kyut^u pöstukh* (masc. sg.), a book for reading. We thus get the following adjectival forms when the verb is used passively,—

Masc. Sg. परनु कितु घस्तुख् *parañ^u kyut^u pöstukh*, a book for reading.

(We cannot say परनु कितु प्रङ्ग *parañ^u kyut^u prang*, a couch for reading).

Masc. Pl. रन्नि किति हाख् *ranⁿⁱ kitⁱ hākh*, vegetables for cooking.

Fem. Sg. परञ्ज किच्चू पूथि *parañ kits^u pūthi*, a book for reading.

Fem. Pl. करञ्ज किञ्च काम्य *karañṣ kits^a kāmṣ*, businesses (fem. pl.)
to be done.

These are all capable of declension. Thus,—(acc.) परनस् कितिस्
paranas kitis pōstakas chuh thawān, he places a book
for reading.

The oblique base of the form in अन् *an^u* is used to indicate a pur-
pose (ix. i. 18). I note that in poetry the form ends in अने *anē*, not
in अनि *ani*. Thus,—

परनि (or poetical परने) गङ्गान् कुह् *parani* (or poetical *paranē*) *gatshān*
chuh, he goes to read. रननि गौव् *ranani gauv*, he went to cook.

When the word समख *samakh*, meet, is used in this form, it means
to pay a visit of condolence. Thus, समखनि गौव् *samakhani gauv*, he
went to pay a visit of condolence. Otherwise the ordinary dative of
the verbal noun in उन् *un* is used. Thus, समखन पुच्छ् रुद् *samakhana*
putshy rūd^u, he stopped to meet him (ix. i. 19).

This verbal form is used to form Inceptive and Desiderative com-
pounds. Thus,—

Inceptive compounds, are made with the infinitive in अन् *an^u* or
उन् *un^u*, and the verb हि *hi*, take (viii. i. 57). Thus, सुह् कुह् खय् लेखुन्
suh chuh khāth lēkhun^u hyawān, he begins to write a letter;
करन् ह्यवान् कुह् *karun hyawān chuh*, he begins to d. If the object is
feminine, the feminine infinitive is used. Thus, सुह् कुह् जनान मारञ्ज्
suh chuh zanān^a mārañ^a hyawān, he begins to beat the woman.
These forms are however, almost always used in the past tense. Thus,
करन् ह्यतुन् *karun hyatun*, he began to read, (and is doing it now).
तस्मि कुह् खय् लेखुन् ह्यतुमत् *taṁⁱ chuh khāth lēkhun^u hyat^umat^u*, he has
begun to write the letter. Literally, by him the letter to-be-written
has been taken. So तस्मि अह् जनान मारञ्ज् ह्यवमत् *taṁⁱ chhēh zanān^a*
mārañ^a hēts^umat^u, he has begun to beat the woman (ix. i. 41).

Another way of forming inceptive compounds is to use the oblique
form of the infinitive with the verb लग *lag* already mentioned. Thus,—

सुह् करनि लग् *suh karani lag^u*, he began to do.

सुह लुग खथ लेखनि *suh lag^u khāth lēkhani*, he began to write the letter.

सुह लुग जनान मारनि *suh lag^u zanān^a mārani*, he began to beat the woman. It will be observed that this form of the verbal noun does not change for gender.

Similarly, **Desiderative compounds** are made with the verb इक् *yitsh*, wish. Thus,—

सुह कुह खथ लेखुन् इक्कान् *suh chuh khāth lēkhun^u yitshān*, he wishes to write the letter.

सुह कुह जनान मारुञ् इक्कान् *suh chuh zanān^a mārañ yitshān*, he wishes to beat the woman.

तमि इक्क जनान मारुञ् *tami yitsh^u zanān^a mārañ*, he wished to beat the woman.

In the formation of this abstract noun the following **irregularities** appear (ix. ii. 4). Only one form of the infinitive is given, but the others follow the same rule,—

तल *tal*, fry.

तलुन् *talun* or तल्युन् *talyun*.

बज *baz*, fry, serve.

बजुन् *bazun* or बज्युन् *bazyun*.

Some verbs only use their Abstract Noun in the Feminine, and, moreover, are then sometimes irregular in their formation (ix. ii. 24 and ff.). They are the following:—

ABSTRACT NOUNS.

त्सर *tsar*, be inwardly wrathful त्सरिञ् *tsariñ*, inward wrath. (impersonally).

चुव *tsuv*, quarrel (impersonally). चुविञ् *tsuviñ*.

[These two, when used with other verbs, take the *regular* feminines in phrases like,—

अमिस् ह्यचुन् त्सरुञ् *amis hēts^un tsarañ*, he began to be angry. Literally, being angry began to him].

मोरव *mōrav*, bear (of pain, impersonally). मोरवुञ् *mōrav^uñ*.

मर्त्त *marts*, be impatient (used impersonally). मर्त्तुञ् *marts^uñ*.

19. अञ् añ.

20. इञ् iñ.

21. ऊञ् ūñ.

These are all Feminine forms of the masculine verbal adjectives, and of the masculine abstract nouns or infinitives, in उन् *un*, अनु *an^u*, or उन् *un^u* (Nos. 16–18). No. 19 is the regular feminine of all three, and is discussed under the head of those suffixes.

It is also specially used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the following verb.

चेन *tsēn*, know by a sign, चेनवञ् *tsēnavañ* the giving of a sign (ix. ii. 43).

In the case of the following verbs it is only used in the fem. pl. (अञ् *añ^a*) (ix. ii. 42),—

कड *kad*, bring out.कडञ् *kadañ^a*, blaming.पास् *pās^ar*, blame.पास्रञ् *pās^arañ^a*, blaming.श्रुक *çruk*, weep.श्रुकञ् *çrukañ^a*, weeping.

A few verbs (mostly connected with female ideas, and mostly used impersonally) have no masculine forms, and are also discussed under the head of Nos. 16–18.

They have only feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in इञ् *iñ*, or ऊञ् *ūñ*. For easy reference, I repeat them here.

The two following form their abstract or infinitives in इञ् *iñ*, and in no other way (ix. ii. 24). That is to say they have no infinitive in उन् *un*.

त्सर *tsar*, be inwardly wrathful, whether referring to a man or a woman, always used impersonally, and always in the feminine. Thus, तस् त्रु *tas tsar^u* (fem.), of him or her inward wrath was felt, *i.e.*, he or she was inwardly angry. Abstract noun or infinitive त्रिञ् *tsariñ*, not त्रुन् *tsarun* or त्रञ् *tsarañ*, inward wrath. त्रुन् *tsarun*, does occur, but it is the abstract noun or infinitive of another verb, त्र *tsar*, increase.

Other examples of the use of this curious verb is तस् त्रान् छह् *tas tsarān chhēh* (fem.) he or she is inwardly angry. तस् त्रि *tas tsari*, he or she will be angry.

चुव *tsuv*, (ix. ii. 24) quarrel, also used impersonally, and in the feminine. Abstract noun or infinitive चुविञ् *tsuviñ*, quarrelling.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, सुह् कुह् चुवान् *suh chhuḥ tsuvān*, he is quarrelling.

Future tense, सुह् चुवि *suh tsuvi*, he will quarrel.

Past tense, only used in the feminine,—

तमि चुव् *tamiⁱ tsuv^u*, by him quarrelling was done.

तमि चुव् *tamiⁱ tsuv^u*, by her quarrelling was done.

Note, that in the Past, it is always used impersonally, and in the feminine gender though it may refer to males.

We thus see that चर *tsar* is always construed with the genitive (तस् *tas*), but चुव *tsuv*, in the Present and Future as an ordinary Intransitive Verb, and in the Past as an Impersonal Verb.

The two following verbs, form their abstract nouns or infinitives in ज्ज् *ñ*, and in no other way.

मोरव *mōrav*, (viii. iii. 25) bear pain, used impersonally and in the feminine in the past tenses only. Abstract noun or infinitive मोरवज् *mōrav^uñ*.

Examples of the use of this verb,—

Present tense, सुह् कुह् मोरवान् *suh chhuḥ mōravān*, he is bearing pain.

Future tense, सुह् मोरवि *suh mōravi*, he will bear pain.

Past tense, तमि मोरव् *tamiⁱ mōrav^u* (fem. impersonal) (pain) was borne by him, he bore pain.

मर्त्त *marts* (ix. ii. 25), be impatient. Abstract noun, or infinitive, मर्त्तज् *marts^uñ*.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, तस् छह् मर्त्तान् *tas chhēḥ* (fem.) *martsān*, of that man, or of that woman, there is impatience.

Future tense, तस् मर्त्ति *tas martsⁱ*, of that man, or of that woman, there will be impatience.

Past tense, तस् मर्त्त *tas marts^u*, of that man, or of that woman, there was impatience.

It is thus construed exactly like चर *tsar*.

The following verbs optionally form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in *ञ्* *ñ*, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in *उन्* *un* (ix. ii. 26).

खस् *kh^as*, pluck the hair. In the case of this verb, *खसुन्* *kh^asun* (masc.) is used when men are referred to, and *खसूञ्* *kh^as^ūñ* (fem.) when women are referred to (*sensu obscæno*).

फिन्न *phits*, forget; *फर* *phöç*, be inwardly angry; *फुह* *phuh*, be inwardly angry. In the last two the fem. abstract noun is used of the wrath of females.

वज्रव *wazav*, moisten; *वुत्त* *wuts*, be burnt.

The following verbs optionally form the feminine abstract noun in *इञ्* *iñ*, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in *उन्* *un* (ix. ii. 27-32).

सार *sār*, feel (see No. 26); *खुत* *khut*, dig from below; *टुष* *tuv*, close (of a flower); *डुव* *duv*, sweep; *डल* *dal*, pass over; *त्रुक* *truk* (see No. 30a), bite in pieces; *थ्यक* *thēk*, praise; *नत्त* *nats*, dance; *नट* *nat*, tremble; *नम* *nam*, bend; *वुज* *wuz*, appear (as water from a spring); *वुठ* *wuṭh*, twist; *वुप* *wup*, burn inside; *लिव* *liv*, smear (makes *लिविञ्* *liviñ*, or *लिपिञ्* *lipiñ*); *ल्यव* *lyav*, lick; *कर* *kar*, do (*करिञ्* *kariñ*, however, only means a mason's trowel); *वट* *wat*, twist (*वटिञ्* *waṭiñ* means a collection); *फर* *phar*, steal (*फरिञ्* *phariñ* means a female thief). Thus, *सरिञ्* *sāriñ*, feeling.

If the secondary suffix *अल्* *al* (sec. suf. No. 6) is ever used with any abstract verbal noun, it cannot be used with the masculine form, but only with the feminine form in *इञ्* *iñ* (ix. ii. 27). This *अल्* *al* is only used with a few verbs. Thus, *थ्यकिञ्जल्* *thēkiñal*, a praiser; *नटिञ्जल्* *naṭiñal*, a trembler, and so on.

22. *अन्* *an*, (masculine). Used to form masculine abstract nouns in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 41). Thus,—

चि *ci*, drink.

अन् *cyan* (masc.) drinking.

खि *khī*, eat.

ख्यन् *khyan* (masc.) drinking.

हि *hi*, place.

ह्यन् *hyan* (masc.) placing.

20. *अन्* *an* (fem.). Used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 35, 37) *कपट* *kaṭaṭ*, cut; *दन्* *dan*,

shake out dust ; नहाव *nahāv*, obliterate ; पिल *pil*, arrive ; फिर *phir*, turn over (pages) ; माज *māz*, be intent upon ; मिलव *milav*, unite ; मुत्तर *mutsar*, open ; मूर *mūr*, shell (pease, &c.) ; ल्यव *lyav*, lick ; बुठ *wuṭh*, twist ; बुच्च *wuh*, be not extinguished ; आडर *āḍar*, mix ; खंडर *khaṇḍar*, divide ; छुटर *tshōṭar*, make small ; जीटर *zīṭhar*, make long ; टुटर *tōṭar*, have insufficient means of livelihood ; पीटर *pīṭhar*, blame and instruct ; फुटर *phuṭar*, break ; बडर *baḍar*, make great ; बाग्र *bāgar*, divide ; म्वटर *mōṭar* make thick ; वोवर *wōwar*, shave metal.

Thus, कपटन् *kapāṭan* (fem.) cutting.

The verb गिलव *gilav*, whirl about, forms गिलन् *gilan*, which means ‘an attempt’ (ix. ii. 36).

The verb नव *nav*, be new, forms न्वरन् *nōv^aran*, raking up an old story against a person (ix. ii. 38).

The verb लार *lār*, touch, forms लारन् *lāran*, which means ‘trembling’ (ix. ii. 40).

Some people use this form with the roots तञ्जर *tañ^aar*, dilute ; तञ्जर *tats^aar*, make hot ; स्यजर *syaz^aar*, make straight (ix. ii. 39).

24. रब् *rab*. This is optionally used in the case of the root मष *maṣ*, to form a masculine verbal abstract noun (ix. ii. 5). Thus, मषब् *maṣrab*, forgetting.

25. उ^u, this is optionally used to form masculine verbal abstract nouns from the three following roots (ix. ii. 6).

ददर <i>dōḍar</i> , rot.	ददरु <i>dōḍar^u</i> , rotting.
जजर <i>zōzar</i> , wither.	जजरु <i>zōzar^u</i> , withering.
ससर <i>sōsar</i> , decay.	ससरु <i>sōsar^u</i> , decaying.

26. ज्^ū is used optionally to form feminine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (viii. ii. 62, 63, 68, 72, 79).

तक् *tach*, pare, तक्^ū *tach^ū*, scratching (also तक् *täch*) ; रक् *rach*, protect, रक्^ū *rach^ū*, protection ; छाड *tshāḍ*, search, छाड^ū *tshāḍ^ū*, searching ; छाड *tshāḍ*, search (with a nasal), makes either छाड^ū *tshāḍ^ū*, or छाड् *tshāḍ* ; छान *chān*, sift, छाञ्^ū *chāñ^ū* ; दोन *dōn*, card cotton, दूञ्^ū *dūñ^ū* ; थार

thār, be quick, थार् *thār̄*; बाँबर *bābar*, be quick, बाँबर् *bābar̄*; सार *sār*, feel, सार् *sār̄* (*vide* p. 210); हन्द् *hand̄*, be cold, हन्द् *hand̄*.

27. अ *a* (masc.); used optionally to form masculine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 7).

छम्ब *chōmb*, husk; ज्स *zōs*, cough; बगार *bagār*, fry in oil; बह *bēh*, sit; लम *lam*, pull; लोस *lōs*, be weary; वुन *wun*, be unlucky.

Thus, छम्ब *chōmb^a*, the act of husking, and so on.

28. अ *a* (fem.) used optionally to form a feminine abstract verbal noun in the case of the verb वुंग *wung*, to howl like a dog, in a special meaning (ix. ii. 57).

Thus, वुंग *wung^a*, lying awake at night on account of some care.

वुग् *wung*, means a dog's howl.

29. आव् *āv*. Used optionally in the case of the verb लद *lad*, send, build, elevate, push, when it means 'build,' to form a masculine abstract noun. लदाव् *ladāv*, also means, the wages of building (ix. ii. 8).

30. — (masc.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form abstract nouns. In such cases roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular and plural. These roots are classed according to their final letters. In the case of causal roots ending in अव *av*, the अव *av* is dropped.

(a) क *k*, certain verbs in क *k* and कव *kav*, make optional verbal abstract nouns by changing the क *k* or कव *kav* to ख *kh* (ix. ii. 9). These verbs are,—

छकव *chōkav*, wash.

छक *tshōk*, become speechless.

ठक *tak*, bite in two with a noise.

टुक *tuk*, bore like a rat.

ढकव *tōkav*, cause to disappear.

ढुक *thuk*, bury.

त्रुक *truk*, cut to pieces, eat (*vide* p. 210).

थक *thak*, be weary.

पाकव *pākav*, cook.

फुक *phuk*, blow up fire.

भक *brak*, clench with the teeth.

Thus, छूच् *chōkh*, the act of washing. छूच् *tshōkh*, speechlessness and so on. The root फुक *phuk* becomes फूच् *phōkh*, when it means 'to puff.' Otherwise it is simply फूच् *phukh*, the blowing of a fire.

(b) ग *g*. This case is exactly similar to the preceding one. It occurs in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 10). Thus,—

OPTIONAL FORM OF ABSTRACT NOUN.

दगव *dōgav*, husk.

दग् *dōg*, husking.

रंग *rang*, paint.

रग् *rang*, painting.

सगव *sagav*, water plants.

सग् *sag*, watering.

(c) च *ts* (ix. ii. 11). It occurs only in the case of the verb,—

वाँच् *wā'ts*, cheat; abstract noun वाँच् *wā'tsh*, cheating.

(d) ट *t* (ix. ii. 12).

त्तेट *tsēt*, powder; लूट *lūt*, rob; वाट *wāt*, join. These can form abstract nouns in ट *th*. Thus, त्तेट् *tsēth*, pounding to powder.

(e) ड *d* (ix. ii. 13).

गंड *gand*, tie; optional abstract noun, गंड् *gand*, tying.

(f) न *n* (ix. ii. 14).

खन *khan*, dig; छन *tshēn*, cut; optional abstract nouns, खन् *khan*, digging, छन् *tshēn*, cutting.

(g) प *p*. The following verbs optionally make their abstract nouns in फ् *ph* (ix. ii. 15).

काँम्प *kāmp*, tremble; कृप *kṛp*, cut with scissors; च्चाप *tsāp*, chew (Cf. No. 31n.); जप *zap*, mutter prayers; टप *tap*, kick of a horse, &c.

Thus, काँम्फ् *kāmph*, trembling, and so on.

(h) म *m* (ix. ii. 16).

ब्रम *bram*, be in error; abstract noun, optionally, ब्रम् *bram*.

(i) र *r* (ix. ii. 17).

चार *cār*, tie tightly.

चीर *cīr*, wring out.

तार *tār*, cross over (active).

फुकार *phukār*, speak in anger, bubble up (of steam).

फ्यार *phyār*, strain (liquid).

मार *mār*, beat.

सर *sör*, remember.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चार् *cār*, tying tightly.

(j) ल *l* (ix. ii. 18).

चल *tsəl*, force inside (active).

बल *tshal*, cheat.

जल *z^al*, scrape.

तोल *tōl*, weigh.

दल *dal*, split (active).

मेल *mēl*, meet.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चयल् *tsəl*, forcing inside.

(k) व *w* (ix. ii. 19).

जुव *zuv*, live.

डुव *duv*, sweep.

ताव *tāv*, heat.

व्वहव *wōhav*, curse.

These optionally form their abstract nouns in व् *v*. Thus, जुव् *zuv*, life; व्वहव् *wōhav*, cursing.

(l) स *s* (ix. ii. 20).

रस *ras*, be juicy.

हसव *h^asav*, incite.

Thus, रस् *ras*, juiciness; हस् *h^as*, inciting.

(m) ह् *h* (ix. ii. 21, 22).

गह् *g^ah*, grind.

चह् *ts^ah*, suck.

गह् *g^ah*, grinding; चह् *ts^ah*, sucking. The former also makes गस् *gas*, grinding.

31. ——— (fem.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form feminine abstract nouns. In such cases, roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular. These roots are classed according to their final letters.

In the case of causal roots ending in अव *av*, the अव *av*, is dropped. The following are the verbs :—

(a) क *k* (ix. ii. 56).

छक *chak*, scatter.

चिक *chik*, sprinkle.

चमक *camak*, shine.

टक *t^ak*, run.

फूँक *phūṅk*, smell.

शैक *çēk*, doubt.

Thus, छक् *chăkh*, (fem.) a scattering, a sowing of seed ; शैक् *çēkh* (fem.), doubting.

(b) ख *kh* (ix. ii. 75).

There is only one, and it is irregular. लेख् *lēkh*, write, makes लेफ् *lēph*, a writing (nom. pl. लेफ *lēph^a*).

(c) ग *g* (ix. ii. 57).

जाग *zāg*, be watchful.

टाँग *tāṅg*, emit a loud cry.

दग *dag*, beat.

मंग *maṅg*, ask.

लग *lag*, be with.

लाग *lāg*, imitate.

बुंग *wuṅg*, bark (of a dog).

श्वंग *çōṅg*, sleep.

Thus, जाग् *zāg*, watchfulness. बुग् *wuṅg*, is, specially, a dog's howl. बुंग *wuṅg^a*, means the lying awake at night owing to some care.

(d) छ *ch* (ix. ii. 61).

तछ *tach*, pare.

मन्दछ *mandach*, be ashamed.

Thus, तक् *tăch*, scratching. The first may also form तक् *tach^u* (62).

(e) ङ *ts* (ix. ii. 58).

पङ्ग *pats*, trust with a loan.

रोङ्ग *rōts*, be preferred.

श्रीङ्ग *çrōts*, be pure.

Thus, पङ् *pāṭsh*, trust (of all kinds), रोङ् *rōṭsh*, preference.

(f) ङ् *ṭsh* (ix. ii. 59).

इङ् *yitsh*, wish.

प्रिङ् *priṭsh*, ask.

Thus, इङ् *yitsh*, wishing. We say प्रिङ्गारु करुनस् *priṭsha-gār^u karⁿ-n-as*, asking, &c., was done by him for him.

(g) ज्ञ *z* (ix. ii. 64).

ग्रज्ञ *graz*, roar.

Thus, ग्रज्ञ *graz*, a roaring; ग्रज्ञि किनु *grazi kyut^u*, for roaring (ix. i. 17).

(h) ट *t* (ix. ii. 65).

चूट *tsūt*, break wind with noise.

कूट *tshat*, winnow.

फुट *phut*, be broken.

Thus, कूट *tshāṭh*, winnowing.

(i) ठ *ṭh* (ix. ii. 66).

द्यठ् *tyāṭh*, be bitter. The abstract noun, द्यठ् *tyāṭh*, means necessity, necessariness.

Thus, तमाकि द्यठ् *tamākⁱ tyāṭh*, the want of tobacco.

(j) ढ *ḍ* (ix. ii. 67, 68).

माँड *māḍ*, mix.

काँड *tshāḍ*, search.

The latter makes काँड *tshāḍ*, or काँड *tshāḍ^u*. [The verb काड *tsāḍ*, search, without the nasal, always makes काँड *tsāḍ^u*].

(k) त *t* (ix. ii. 69).

न्यत *nyat*, shear.

लतव *latav*, kick.

Thus, न्यथ् *nyāṭh*, a shearing; लथ् *lāṭh*, a kick.

(l) द *d* (ix. ii. 70).

पद *pad*, break wind.

प्यद *pyad*, be cognisant of.

पँद *pōnd*, sneeze.

Thus, पँद् *pōnd*, a sneeze.

(m) न *n* (ix. ii. 71).

आमन *āman*, change for the bad.

जान *zān*, know.

Thus, आमन् *āman*, a change for bad.

(n) प *p* (ix. ii. 73).

चाप *tsāp*, gnaw.

Thus, चाप् *tsāph*, a gnawing (Cf. No. 30g.).

(o) फ *ph* (ix. ii. 74).

वुफ *wuph*, fly.

Thus, वुफ् *wuph* a flying.

(p) ब *b* (ix. ii. 76).

रंब *ramb*, be beautiful.

रूब *çüb*, be beautiful.

Thus, रंब् *ramb*, beauty.

(q) य *y* (ix. ii. 77).

प्रय *pray*, be pleased with.

Thus, प्रय् *pray*, love.

(r) र *r* (ix. ii. 78).

आवर *āwar*, cover.

डख्र *ḍakh^ar*, depend upon.

तूर *tūr*, be cold.

थाँथर *thā^hthar*, be quick.

दोर *dōr*, run.

मूर *mūr*, husk.

लार *lār*, touch.

सखर *sakhar*, set forth.

लार् *lār*, means absconding. The verb दूँक्ख्र *dūnt^hsh^ar*, separate, forms दूँक्ख् *dūnt^hsh*, separating (ix. ii. 60). The verb, वड्र *wad^ar*, bury makes वड् *wad* (ix. ii. 67).

(s) ल *l* (ix. ii. 80).

गाँगल *gāgal*,
 ग्राँगल *grāgal*, } be disturbed in one's work.

टाल *tāl*, go away with indifference.

तंबल *tambal*, change one's mind.

म्वकल *mōkal*, be released.

व्वलल *wōlal*, adorn.

शहल *çahal*, be cold.

Thus म्वकल् *mōkal*, release.

(t) व *w*, (ix. ii. 81).

दव *dav*, run.

Thus, दव् *dav*, running.

32. इश् *iç* (ix. ii. 33). This is used optionally to form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives, in the case of the following verbs.

चक *tsök*, be angry ; तप *tap*, become hot ; लंग *lang*, be lame.

Thus, चकिश् *tsōkiç*, anger.

The ✓ मिलव *milav*, unite, irregularly forms मिलमिश् *milamiç* (ix. ii. 34).

33. अक *ak* (nom. sg. अख *akh*) (fem.), used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the verb पोट *pōth*, be fat ; e.g., पोठख् *pōthakh*, fatness (ix. ii. 45).

34. अत् *at* (nom. sg. अथ् *ath*) (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 44).

अर्ज *arz*, earn ; बाव *bāv*, declare one's intentions ; व्वपज *wōpaz*, become ; अप *çrap*, decay ; स्यद *syad*, succeed ; गर *gar*, make ; वट *waṭ*, twist ; शहल *çahal*, be cold ; ह्यक *hyak*, be able.

Thus, अर्जत् *arzat* ; nom. sg. अर्जथ् *arzath*, earning.

35. अय् *ay* (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 46).

वखन *wakhan*, tell ; खार *khār*, ascend ; जाग *zāg*, be watchful ; वाल *wāl*, take down ; नच *nats*, dance ; कख *hōkh*, be dry ; आमन *āman*, change for the bad.

Thus, वखनय् *wakhanay*, telling. The verb मंग् *mayg*, ask, forms माँगय् *māṅgay*, asking (ix. ii. 47).

The verb बागर् *bāgar*, divide, forms बागय् *bāgay*, division, or बागनय् *bāganay* (ix. ii. 48, 54).

The verb जेन *zēn*, conquer, forms जिय् *ziy*, victory (ix. ii. 49).

From the verb साव *sāv*, sleep, comes the derivative, उदसावय् *udasāvay*, waking, lying awake (ix. ii. 50).

The simple word सावय् *sāvay*, means 'happiness' (ix. ii. 51).

From the verb आमन *āman*, change for the worse, already mentioned, we also have हामनय् *hāmanay*, a false charge (ix. ii. 52).

From the verb लाग *lāg*, cultivate, we have लागनय् *lāganay*, cultivation (ix. ii. 53).

From the verb साद *sād*, accomplish, we have सादनय् *sādanay*, a chief cause (ix. ii. 55).

36. अवञ् *awañ* (fem.) (with unmodified vowel). This is added to a verb to signify wages (ix. ii. 82, 83, 84). Thus,—

करवञ् *karawañ*, (fem.), the wages of doing; परवञ् *parawañ*, the wages of reading; लोनवञ् *lōnawañ*, the wages of reaping; रोजवञ् *rōzawañ*, the wages of remaining.

If the root ends in a vowel the suffix is ववञ् *wawañ*. Thus,—

(दि *di*) दिववञ् *diwawañ*, the wages of giving; निववञ् *niwawañ*, the wages of taking; ख्यववञ् *khyawawañ*, the wages of eating; चववञ् *cyawawañ*, the wages of drinking.

37. अन्हार् *anhār*, used to signify fitness (ix. ii. 91). Thus,—

करन्हार् *karanhār*, fit to be done.

गंडन्हार् *gaṇḍanhār*, fit to be bound.

If the verb ends in a vowel, the suffix becomes अनहार *anahār*. Thus,—

ख्यानहार *khyanahār*, fit to be eaten.

चनहार *cyanahār*, fit to be drunk.

ह्यानहार *hyanahār*, fit to be placed.

But as usual,—

निनहार् *ninahār*, fit to be taken ;

दिनहार् *dinahār*, fit to be given ;

यिनहार् *yinahār*, fit to come.

The verb लग *lag* makes लगहार् *lagahār*, which simply means
'worthy.'

On Secondary Suffixes in Kāçmīrī.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.

[Read August, 1898.]

The following account of Secondary Suffixes in Kāçmīrī is based on the fourth part of Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. Some of the so-called suffixes are evidently merely nouns in composition, but I have thought it best to retain them.

The following suffixes express **Relationship**.

1. पूतु *pūt^u* (iv. 1).¹ This Suffix (the Skr. पोतः *pōtaḥ*) added to a noun in the form of the instrumental singular case (the न् *n* of the first declension being dropped), signifies son, *e.g.*,—

दर् *dar*, (instr. दरन् *daran*) a certain caste, दर-पूतु *dar^a-pūt^u*, the son of a man of that caste.

कौल् *kaul*, a certain caste, कौल-पूतु *kaul^a-pūt^u*, the son of a man of that caste.

त्युक् *tyuk^u* (instr. तिक् *tikⁱ*), a certain caste, तिक्-पूतु *tikⁱ-pūt^u*, the son of a man of that caste.

काव् *kāv*, a crow, काव-पूतु *kāv^a-pūt^u*, a young crow.

कट् *kat*, a ram, कट-पूतु *kat^a-pūt^u*, a young ram.

Apparently irregular are,—

म्याँ-पूतु *myā'-pūt^u*, a young ram; कक्कर-पूतु *kōkar-pūt^u* a chicken;
कोतर-पूतु *kōtar-pūt^u* a young pigeon; and पचिन्-पूतु *pachin-pūt^u*,
a young bird.

This Suffix can only be used with generic terms, such as the above. It cannot be used with proper names (iv. 2).

NOTE.—The word चूर-पूतु *tsūr^a-pūt^u*, either means the son of a thief (चूर *tsūr*), or may be applied to children as a term of endearment (iv. 3).

¹ References here and elsewhere to the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

When the Suffix is added to the word मिञ् *miñ*, a kiss, मिञ्-पूतु *miñě-pūt^u*, or म्वञ्-पूतु *mōñě-pūt^u*, means simply a kiss (iv. 4).

2. कठ् *kāṭh*. This word also means son, but is rarely used, except in abuse, or anger (iv. 5), *e.g.*,—

चूर-कठ् *tsūr^a-kāṭh*, son of a thief.

गान-कठ् *gān^a-kāṭh*, son of a pimp.

पोग-कठ् *pōg^a-kāṭh*, son of destruction.

वाज-कठ् *wāz^a-kāṭh*, son of a cook.

रास-कठ् *rās^a-kāṭh*, son of adultery.

क-कठ् *kō-kāṭh*, (कुपुत्रः) a bad son.

We also, however, find स्व-कठ् *sō-kāṭh*, a good son (सुपुत्रः) and स्वख-कठ् *sōkh^a-kāṭh*, a son of happiness (सुखपुत्रः).

3. कटु *kaṭ^u*. This Suffix, on the contrary is used as a term of praise, with words signifying castes or professions (iv. 6), *e.g.*,—

बट-कटु *baṭ^a-kaṭ^u*, a real son of a brāhman (*i.e.*, a good brāhman).

So दर-कटु *dar^a-kaṭ^u*, कौल-कटु *kaul^a-kaṭ^u*.

जान-कटु *chān^a-kaṭ^u*, a real son of a carpenter, a good carpenter.

Apparently irregular in not having a final ^a for the first member, are words like,—

खनर्-कटु *sōn^ar-kaṭ^u*, a real son of a gold-smith, a good gold-smith.

मनर्-कटु *man^ar-kaṭ^u*, a real son of a shell-worker, a good shell-worker, cf. No. 38.

We find also (from मूँष *mūṣ*, a buffalo, *ante*, p. 63), मैँष-कटु *maĩṣ^a-kaṭ^u*, a buffalo-calf.

4. तुर *tur^u*, fem. तर् *t^ar*. This Suffix is associated with the relationship of first-cousin (iv. 8, 9, 10). Thus,—

घफतुर् बोयु *pōphatur^u bōy^u*, the son of a paternal aunt (*lit.*, brother by a paternal aunt).

मासतुर् बोयु *māsatur^u bōy^u*, the son of a maternal aunt.

मामतुर् बोयु *māmatur^u bōy^u*, the son of a maternal uncle.

घफतर् व्यज *pōphat^ar bēñě*, the daughter of a paternal aunt.

मासत्र् व्यञ्ज *māsat^{ar} bēñě*, the daughter of a maternal aunt.

मामत्र् व्यञ्ज *māmat^{ar} bēñě*, the daughter of a maternal uncle.

Irregular is पितृर् बोय *pitur^u bōy^u* (fem. पितृर् व्यञ्ज *pit^{ar} bēñě*), the son (daughter) of a paternal uncle.

So also we have षफत्र् बायि काकञ्ज *pōphat^{ar} bāyⁱ kākañ*, the wife of the son of a paternal aunt.

Similarly for the other wives, मासत्र् बायि काकञ्ज *māsat^{ar} bāyⁱ kākañ*; मामत्र् बायि काकञ्ज *māmat^{ar} bāyⁱ kākañ*, and पितृर् बायि काकञ्ज *pit^{ar} bāyⁱ kākañ*.

5. थर् *th^{ar}*, fem. ज्ञ *z^a* indicates, with a change in the termination of the root-word, the relationship of nephew (iv. 11, 12, 13). Thus,—

बावथर् *bābath^{ar}*, brother's son (बोय *bōy^u*, a brother).

बावज्ञ *bāw^{az^a}*, brother's daughter.

ब्यनथर् *byanath^{ar}*, sister's son (व्यञ्ज *bēñě* a sister).

ब्यनज्ञ *byan^{az^a}*, sister's daughter.

द्यारथर् *dyārath^{ar}*, son of a husband's brother, (द्रियु *dryuy^u*, a husband's brother).

द्यारज्ञ *dyār^{az^a}*, the daughter of a husband's brother.

The following Suffixes form **adjectives of possession**.

6. अल् *al*, fem. अल् *al*. This Suffix is restricted to natural possessions, *i.e.*, when a thing or quality is spoken of as not only accompanying an object, but as actually forming part of it (iv. 15–19), cf. No. 9. When added to verbal nouns, they must be in the feminine form, see p. 210.

As usual, the noun to which the suffix is added takes the form of the instrumental singular, but before अ *a*, इ *i* becomes य् *y*, and अ *a*, for अन् *an*, is dropped. Thus,—

FROM.	WE HAVE.
दारु <i>dār^u</i> , a beard.	दार्यल् <i>dāryal</i> , fem. दार्यल् <i>dāryal</i> , bearded.
गाँक् <i>gōtsh</i> , a moustache.	गाँक्ल् <i>gōtshal</i> , moustached.
डक् <i>ḍakh</i> , a hair-curl.	डक्ल् <i>ḍakhal</i> , curly-headed.
बब् <i>bab</i> , bosom.	बबल् <i>babal</i> , bosomed.
कोक् <i>kōch</i> , belly.	कोक्ल् <i>kōchal</i> , bellied.

ह्यङ् <i>hyang</i> , a horn.	ह्यङ्गल् <i>hyangal</i> ,	horned.
ठूक् <i>thūkh</i> , blow of a horn.	ठूकल् <i>thūkal</i> ,	striking with the horn.
ठल् <i>thöl</i> , blow of a horn.	ठलल् <i>thölal</i> ,	striking with the horn.
चप् <i>tsaph</i> , a bite.	चपल् <i>tsapal</i> ,	biting.
फश् <i>phaç</i> , brightness, cleanness.	फशल्ल <i>phaçal</i> ,	well-dressed.
ग्यञ् <i>gěñ</i> , a wrinkle.	ग्यञ्जल् <i>gěñal</i> ,	wrinkled.
स्यस् <i>syas</i> , a wart.	स्यसल् <i>syasal</i> ,	warted.
घण्ड् <i>pönd</i> , a sneeze.	घण्डल् <i>pöndal</i> ,	one who sneezes.
मच्छद्यच <i>machĕtĕc</i> , moles.	मच्छद्यचल् <i>machĕtĕcal</i> ,	covered with moles.
चास् <i>tsās</i> , a cough.	चासल् <i>tsāsal</i> ,	one who has a cough.
चूट् <i>tsūt</i> , crepitus ventris.	चूटल् <i>tsūtal</i> ,	one who breaks wind.

So also we have,—

हाक् <i>hātsh</i> , an accusation (fem.).	हाजल् <i>hātsal</i> ,	one who brings an accusation (not an accused person).
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अय् *zyav*, a tongue. अयवल् *zyaval*, a calumniator. The word does not mean possessing a tongue, which is अयविसल् *zēvisast*^u, or अयविवोल्लु *zēviwōl*^u, (No. 9).

When this suffix is added to the words ब्यञ्ज *běñĕ*, a sister, and कूरु *kūrū*, a daughter, the compound implies incestuous sexual connexion, thus, ब्यञ्जल् *běñĕl*, कोर्यल् *kōryal*. To convey the idea of possessing a sister or a daughter we must say ब्यञ्जवोल्लु *běñĕwōl*^u, कोर्यवोल्लु *kōrĕwōl*^u, (No. 9).

The word दारु *dārū*, a beard, optionally takes the suffix याल् *yāl* thus दार्यल् *dāryal*, or दारियाल् *dārīyāl*, bearded (iv. 19).

The word यड् *yad*, a belly, becomes यडल् *yadal*, having a large belly, pot-bellied (iv. 30). On the other hand यडल् *yad^{al}*, means 'gluttonous' (iv. 31). So from हर *har*, a quarrel, we have हरल् *har^{al}*,

quarrelsome (iv. 32), and from जत् *jat*, hair, जत्स् *jats^{al}*, very hairy (iv. 33).

7. लद् *lad*, fem. लद् *lad*. This suffix is sometimes used instead of अल् *al*, but usually in a bad sense (iv. 20, 21). Thus,—

फक् <i>phak</i> , a stink.	फकलद् <i>phakalad</i> fem. फकलद् <i>phakalad</i> stinking.
कूक् <i>tshök</i> , slyness.	कूकलद् <i>tshökalad</i> , sly.
कूक् <i>chök</i> , a sore.	कूकलद् <i>chökalad</i> , full of sores.
बक् <i>bak</i> , a cry.	बकलद् <i>bakalad</i> , prating.
दख् <i>dökh</i> , pain.	दखलद् <i>dökhalad</i> , pained.
द्राग् <i>drāg</i> , a famine.	द्रागलद् <i>drāgalad</i> , afflicted with famine.

This termination cannot be substituted for अल् *al* in every case. For instance we cannot say गौकलद् *gōtshalad*, डखलद् *ḍakhalad*, or बबलद् *babalad*. But with some words both अल् *al* and लद् *lad* can be used. Thus besides ग्यञल् *gēñal*, we can have ग्यञलद् *gēñalad*, wrinkled; besides स्यसल् *syasal*, स्यसलद् *syasalad*, warted; and besides चासल् *tsāsal*, चासिलद् *tsāsilad* (*sic*). When the word फग् *phaç* means eccentricity, it takes the termination लद् thus फगलद् *phaçalad*, mad, eccentric. When it means brightness, it takes the termination अल् thus फगल् *phaçal*.

8. योर् *yōr^u*, fem. यार् *yār^u*. This suffix occurs in the following words. It is added as usual to the instrumental in the first two cases. In the last it is irregular (iv. 22, 23):—

पज् <i>paz^u</i> , truth.	पजियोर् <i>pazⁱyōr^u</i> , fem. पजियार् <i>pazⁱyār^u</i> , truthful.
अपज् <i>apaz^u</i> , untruth.	अपजियोर् <i>apazⁱyōr^u</i> , fem. अपजियार् <i>apazⁱyār^u</i> , untruthful.
मञ्जिम् <i>manzyum^u</i> ,	मञ्जिमुयोर् <i>manzyum^uyōr^u</i> , a go between, a medium.

The last word is really a compound substantive and its fem. is मञ्जिमुयार् *manzim^uyārēñ*.

9. वोल् *wōl^a*, fem. वाज्यञ् *wājēñ*; a suffix signifying possession, when the thing possessed accompanies the possessor, but does not actually form part of it (iv. 24). (Cf. No. 6).

As elsewhere, the suffix is added to the instrumental singular. Thus,—

द्यार् <i>dyār</i> , (masc.) wealth.	द्यारवोल् <i>dyārawōl^u</i> fem.	द्यारवाज्यञ् <i>dyārawājēñ</i> , wealthy.
लर् <i>lar^u</i> , (fem.) a house.	लरिवोल् <i>lariwōl^u</i> ,	लरिवाज्यञ् <i>lariwājēñ</i> , possessing a house.
शाय् <i>çāy</i> , (fem.) a place.	शायिवोल् <i>çāyiwōl^u</i> ,	शायिवाज्यञ् <i>çāyiwājēñ</i> , possessing a place.
कूर् <i>kūr^u</i> , a daughter.	कोरिवोल् <i>kōriwōl^u</i> ,	कोरिवाज्यञ् <i>kōriwājēñ</i> , possessing a daughter.
न्यचिवु <i>nēciv^u</i> , a son.	न्यचिविवोल् <i>nēcivⁱwōl^u</i> ,	न्यचिविवाज्यञ् <i>nēcivⁱwājēñ</i> , possessing a son.

But,—

गुपन् <i>gupun</i> , a quadruped.	गुपन्वोल् <i>gupanwōl^u</i> , possessing herds.
गर <i>gar^a</i> , a house.	{ गर्वोल् <i>garwōl^u</i> , the master of a house. { गरवोल् <i>garawōl^u</i> , possessing a house.

10. ग्राख् *grākh*, fem. प्राकञ् *grakañ*. This may be used instead of वोल् *wōl^u* in the same sense (iv. 24). Thus,—

लर् *lar^u*, a house, लरिग्राख् *larigrākh*, fem. लरिग्राकञ् *larigrākañ*, possessing a house, and so on.

11. हत् *hat^u*, fem. हत्तु *hats^u*. This suffix denotes inconvenience experienced by the mind or feeling, but not by the corporeal body (iv. 25). The usual rule is followed in adding the suffix. Thus,—

न्यन्दर् *nyand^ar* (fem.), sleep, न्यन्दरिहत् *nyand^arihat^u*, fem. न्यन्दरिहत्तु *nyand^arihats^u*, afflicted with sleep.

त्रेष् *trēṣ* (masc.) thirst.

त्रेषहत् *trēṣahat^u*, thirsty.

बुक् *bōch^a*, hunger.

बुक्कहत् *bōchahat^u*, hungry.

क्रूद् *krūd*, anger.

क्रूदहत् *krūdahat^u*, angry.

गुम *guma*, sweat.

गुमहत् *gumahat^u*, sweaty.

ताप् *tāph*, sunshine.तापहत् *tāpahat^u*, feeling the sunshine.तूर् *tūr*, cold.तूरिहत् *tūrihat^u*, feeling cold.आर् *ār*, pity.आरहत् *ārahat^u*, pitiful.

In the two following the adjectives formed do not necessarily refer to mind or feeling,—

लव *law^a*, dew.लवहत् *lawahat^u*, dewy.ताव् *tāw*, warmth.तावहत् *tāwahat^u*, warm.

E.g., तावहच् बुतराय् *tāwahaṭs̄ butarāth*, warm ground.

12. व्यत् *vyat^a*, fem. व्यच् *vyaṭs̄*. This suffix is added in the case of the words मंदक् *mandach^a*, shame; मोद् *mōd^a*, respect; मान *mān^a*, honour, in the same meaning as वोल् *wōl^u* (iv. 26). Thus,—

मंदक्वत् *mandachavyat^u*, fem. मंदक्वच् *mandachavyaṭs̄*, ashamed.

मोद्वत् *mōdavyat^u*, fem. मोद्वच् *mōdavyaṭs̄*, respected.

मानवत् *mānavyat^u*, fem. मानवच् *mānavyaṭs̄*, honoured.

So also,—

बर्सावत् *barsāvyat^u*, fem. बर्सावच् *barsāvyaṭs̄*, wealthy.

13. आन् *ān*, fem. आन् *ān*, added to the words दंद् *dand*, a tooth, and नस्त् *nast*, a nose, in a bad sense (iv. 28).

Thus, दंदान् *dandān*, fem. दंदान् *dandān*, having an ugly tooth.

नस्तान् *nastān*, having an ugly nose.

14. उ^u, fem. ज् ^u. This is used with the same words in the same meaning (iv. 29).

नस्तु *nast^u*, fem. नस्तु *nast^u*.

दंदु *dand^u*, fem. दंदु *dand^u*.

15. ऊर् *ūr^u*, fem. ऊर् *ūr^u*, a variant of the preceding (iv. 29).

नस्तूर् *nastūr^u*, fem. नस्तूर् *nastūr^u*.

दंदूर् *dandūr^u*, fem. दंदूर् *dandūr^u*.

16. अट् *aṭ*, fem. अट् *aṭ*, added to वैस् *waṣ*, age, gives वैसट् *waṣaṭ*, meaning 'very old.' Added to र्ष् *r̥ṣ*, malice, we have र्षट् *r̥ṣaṭ*, malicious (iv. 34, 35).

17. इट् *it*, fem. इट् *it*, is used as follows (iv. 36–38).

From अक्षि *achī*, the eye.

अक्षीट् *achīt*, fem. अक्षीट् *achīt*, having the evil eye.

रूप् *rūp*, beauty.

रूपिट् *rūpiṭ*, very beautiful.

लूब् *lūb*, desire.

लूबिट् *lūbiṭ*, covetous.

ज्यव् *zyav*, tongue.

ज्यविट् *zēviṭ*, a calumniator.

18. जट् *ūth*, fem. जट् *ūth*, as in ल्यक् *lyākḥ* (fem.) abuse, ल्यकल् *lyakal*, or ल्यकलूठ् *lyakalūth*, abusive (iv. 39).

The following suffixes form **Abstract Nouns**.

19. अर् *ar*, (masc.) added to adjectives (iv. 41). This termination is added in the usual way to the form of the case of the agent, *i* becoming *y*. Thus,—

बियु *byuy^u*, stale.

बिय्यर् *biyyar*, staleness.

त्सर *tsar^u*, much.

त्सर्यर् *tsaryar*, excess.

फहर् *phahur^u*, hard.

फह्यर् *phaharyar*, hardness.

नव *nav^u*, new.

नयर् *navyar*, newness.

पप *pap^u*, ripe.

पयर् *papyar*, ripeness.

फफु *phaph^u*, stammering.

फफ्यर् *phaphyar*, stammeringness.

गव *gōb^u*, heavy.

गव्यर् *gōbyar*, heaviness.

ओम् *ōm^u*, unripe.

आम्यर् *āmyar*, unripeness.

गश् *gaṣ^u*, silent.

गश्यर् *gaṣyar*, silence.

त्सोष *tsōṣ^u*, acrid.

त्साय्यर् *tsāsyar*, acridity.

फरिष् *pharīṣ^u*, hard (fem).

फरिश्यर् *pharīṣyar*, hardness.

The last adjective is only used in the feminine.

The main word is also subject to the following changes,—

(a) If the adjective is of three or more syllables, अर् *ar* becomes आर् *ār* (iv. 42). Thus,—

वजुल् *wōzul^u*, red.

वज्ज्यार् *wōzajyār*, redness (see *i.* below).

मकुल् *mōkul^u*, free.

मक्क्यार् *mōkajyār*, free.

(b) This rule is, however, not universal (iv. 44). Thus,—

अपज् अपज् ^१ <i>apaz^u</i> , untruthful.	अपजर् अपजर् ^१ <i>apazar</i> , untruthfulness (see <i>h.</i> below).
कहनु कहनु ^१ <i>krhan^u</i> , black.	कहजर् कहजर् ^१ <i>krhañar</i> , blackness (see <i>h.</i> below).
कात्तुर् कात्तुर् ^१ <i>kātsur^u</i> , tawny.	कात्तयर् कात्तयर् ^१ <i>kātsaryar</i> , tawniness.
कावुर् कावुर् ^१ <i>kāwur^u</i> , dark-blue.	कावयर् कावयर् ^१ <i>kāwaryar</i> , dark-blueness.
कपुन कपुन ^१ <i>krpun^u</i> , miserly.	कपजर् कपजर् ^१ <i>krpañar</i> miserliness (see <i>h.</i> below).
कायुर् कायुर् ^१ <i>kāyur^u</i> , pinewood.	काययर् काययर् ^१ <i>kāyaryar</i> , the nature of pinewood.
खोवुर् खोवुर् ^१ <i>khōwur^u</i> , left (not right).	खोवयर् खोवयर् ^१ <i>khōwaryar</i> , leftness.
ग्ययोमु ग्ययोमु ^१ <i>gěçyōm^u</i> , light black.	ग्ययाम्यर् ग्ययाम्यर् ^१ <i>gěçyāmyar</i> , light blackness.
त्तुर् त्तुर् ^१ <i>tsatur^u</i> , skilful.	त्तयर् त्तयर् ^१ <i>tsataryar</i> , skilfulness.
विसमु विसमु ^१ <i>wisam^u</i> , uneven.	विसम्यर् विसम्यर् ^१ <i>wisamyar</i> , unevenness.

(c) The word टोठु *tōṭh^u*, dear, beloved, forms टाठजार् *tāṭhañār* or टाच्यर् *tāchyar*, belovedness (iv. 43).

(d) When the word हश् *haç*, a mother-in-law, takes अर् *ar*, the word हशर् *haçar* is only used in low abuse. The right word for the condition of a mother-in-law is हशतोनु *haçatōn^u* (No. 27) (iv. 45).

(e) The suffix is optional in the case of the following (iv. 46).

कबु कबु ^१ <i>kōb^u</i> , hunchbacked.	कबु कबु ^१ <i>kōb^u</i> , or कब्यर् कब्यर् ^१ <i>kōbyar</i> , hunchbackedness.
गशु गशु ^१ <i>gaç^u</i> , silent.	गशु गशु ^१ <i>gaç^u</i> or गश्यर् गश्यर् ^१ <i>gaçyar</i> , silence.

(f) When the adjective ends in *u-mātrā* preceded by क् *k*, ख् *kh*, or ग् *g*, these letters become च् *c*, च् *ch*, and ज् *j* respectively (iv. 47). Thus,—

निकु निकु ^१ <i>nyuk^u</i> , little.	नियर् नियर् ^१ <i>nicyar</i> , littleness.
टक टक ^१ <i>tak^u</i> , sharp.	टच्यर् टच्यर् ^१ <i>tacyar</i> , sharpness.
कखु कखु ^१ <i>hōkh^u</i> , dry.	कच्यर् कच्यर् ^१ <i>hōchyar</i> , dryness.

त्रिखु *tryukh^u*, clever.

त्रिख्यर् *trichyar*, cleverness.

द्रगु *drög^u*, dear.

द्रज्यर् *dröjyar*, dearness.

स्रगु *srög^u*, cheap.

स्रज्यर् *sröjyar*, cheapness.

Exceptions are (iv. 48), *vide ante*, pp. 32, 182,—

चकु *tsök^u*, sour.

चक्यर् *tsökyar*, sourness.

खुख *khūkh^u*, speaking
through the nose.

खुख्यर् *khūkhyar*, nasality of voice.

(g) Under similar conditions, ट *t* becomes च *c*, ठ *th* becomes छ *ch*, ड *d* becomes ज् *j*, and ण *n* becomes ञ् *ñ* (iv. 49). Thus,—

म्वटु *möt^u*, fat.

म्वच्यर् *möcyar*, fatness.

गटु *gaṭ^u*, dark.

गच्यर् *gacyar*, darkness.

द्रौठु *drōṭh^u*, hard.

द्रौछ्यर् *drāchyar*, hardness.

मूठु *mūṭh^u*, lazy.

मैछ्यर् *maichyar*, laziness.

म्वडु *mōḍ^u*, blunt.

म्वज्यर् *mōñjyar*, bluntness.

बडु *baḍ^u*, great.

बज्यर् *bajyar*, greatness.

प्रोणु *prōṇ^u*, old.

प्राञ्जर् *prāñnar*, oldness, (see *h*, for elision of *y*).

(h) Under similar circumstances, त् *t* becomes च् *ts*, थ् *th* becomes छ् *tsh*, द् *d* becomes ज्, and न् *n* becomes ञ् *ñ*, after all of which य् *y* is elided (iv. 50, 51). Thus,—

ततु *tat^u*, hot.

तच्चर् *tatsar*, heat.

मतु *mat^u*, madness.

मच्चर् *mat^usar*, madness.

रतु *rat^u*, good.

रच्चर् *rat^usar*, health of body (iv. 41).

वथु *wath^u*, open.

वच्चर् *wat^usar*, openness.

थदु *thad^u*, high.

थज्जर् *thazar*, height.

मंदु *mand^u*, sick.

मंजर् *manzar*, sickness.

तनु *tan^u*, thin.

तञ्जर् *tañar*, thinness.

गुमनु *gumaṇ^u*, slightly dirty.

गुमञ्जार् *gumañār* (see *a*) slight dirtiness.

तमनु *tamaṇ^u*, black.

तमञ्जार् *tamañār*, blackness.

तूरनु *tūraṇ^u*, cold.

तूरञ्जार् *tūrañār*, coldness.

अनु *an^u*, blind.अजर *añar*, blindness.कटमलिनु *kaṭamalyun^u*, half-clean.कटमलिजार *kaṭamaliñār*, half-clean-ness.

From the word पनुनु *panun^u*, own, we get irregularly पानजार *pānañār*, selfness.

Similarly य *y* is elided in other cases after modified consonants.

Thus, in प्राजर *prāñar* in (g) above, so,—

छुनु *tshōts^u*, empty.छुजर *tshōtsar*, emptiness.अकु *atsh^u*, weak.अकर *atshar*, weakness.पजु *paz^u*, true.पजर *pazar*, truth.

(i) So also, when *u-mātrā* is preceded by ल *l*, the ल *l* becomes ज *j* (iv. 52). Thus,—

खलु *khal^u*, open.खज्यर *khajyar*, openness.बलु *wūl^u*, fickle.बोज्यर *wōjyar*, fickleness.कुसलु *kumul^u*, delicate (see a).कुमज्यार *kumajyār*, delicateness.वजुलु *wōzul^u*, red.वजज्यार *wōzajyār*, redness.जायुलु *zāyul^u*, fine.जायज्यार *zāy^ajyār*, fineness.पिशुलु *piçul^u*, soft.पिशज्यार *piçajyār*, softness.

(j) Similarly we have (iv. 53),—

त्रकुरु *trakur^u*, hard.त्रकज्यार *trakajyār* orत्रकर्यर *trakaryar*, hardness (see b).

(k) Similarly ह *h* becomes ण *ç* (iv. 54). Thus,—

हिहु *hyuh^u*, like.हिण्यर *hiçyar*, similarity.त्रोहु *tsōh^u*, acrid.त्राण्यर *tsāçyar*, acridity.

(l) Similarly स *s* optionally becomes ङ *tsh* (iv. 55). Thus,—

कूसु *kūs^u*, youngest.कैङ्गर *kaītshar* or कैसर *kaīsar*, the condition of a youngest son.

20. ईमी *īmī* (fem.). This is optionally used instead of अर *ar*, after बडु *baḍ^u*, great, thus बडोमी *baḍīmī*, or बज्यर *bajyar* (No. 19, g), greatness (iv. 56).

21. यार् *yār^u* (fem.). This is optionally used instead of अर् *ar*, in the two following words (iv. 57).

श्रुत् *ṣrūts^u*, pure.

श्रुत्तियार् *ṣrūtsⁱyār^u* or श्रुत्तर् *ṣrōtsar* (20, h), purity.

अट् *tshyat^u*, impure.

अट्टियार् *tshētⁱyār^u* or अट्टर् *tshēcyar* (20, g), impurity.

22. ज् *z* (fem.). This is added to words ending in योर् *yōr^u*. Thus from (iv. 58).

मञ्जिमु-योर् *manzyum^u-yōr^u*,
a go-between (see No. 8).

मञ्जिमु-यार्ज् *manzim^u-yār^{az}* (the fem. form of मञ्जिमु *manzyum^u* is used), the office of a go-between.

पजियोर् *pazⁱyōr*, truthful.

पजियार्ज् *pazⁱyār^{az}*, truthfulness.

अपजियोर् *apazⁱyōr^u*, untruthful.

अपजियार्ज् *apazⁱyār^{az}*, untruthfulness.

So (cf. No. 21).

श्रुत्तियार्ज् *ṣrūtsⁱyār^uz*, purity, and

अट्टियार्ज् *tshētⁱyār^uz*, impurity.

23. इल् *il* (fem.), used to form abstract nouns from substances, not from adjectives (iv. 59).

Thus, पण्डिथ् *paṇḍith*, a paṇḍit, पण्डितिल् *paṇḍitil*, the condition of a paṇḍit.

चान् *chān*, a carpenter.

चानिल् *chānil*, the condition of a carpenter.

गोर् *gōr*, a priest.

गूरिल् *gūril*, the condition of a priest.

This suffix cannot be used with every word. Sometimes No. 24, must be used. We cannot for instance, say, from दसिल् *dōsil*, a plasterer, दसिलिल् *dōsilil*, the office of a plasterer. We can only say दसिलाज् *dōsilāz* (iv. 60).

The word लाक् *lātsh*, a eunuch, is irregular. It forms लाक्किल् *lātshil*, or लूक्किल् *lūtshil* (iv. 62).

24. **आज़्** *āz*, (fem.), used optionally instead of the proceeding (iv. 59, 60). Thus,—

पाण्डिताज़् *paṇḍitāz*, the condition of a paṇḍit.

चानाज़् *chānāz*, the condition of a carpenter.

गोराज़् *gōrāz*, the condition of a priest.

दसिलाज़् *dōs'ilāz*, the condition of a plasterer.

25. **इलाज़्** *ilāz*, (fem.), is a compound of the two preceding which is sometimes used (iv. 61).

मतु *mat^u*, a madman.

मतिल् *matil* or **मतिलाज़्** *mat'ilāz*, the condition of a madman. If **मतु** *mat^u* is used to mean 'mad,' (as an adjective), its abstract noun would be **मत्सर** *maṭsar* (No. 19, *h*).

ब्रेठ् *brēṭh*, ignorant.

ब्रीठिलाज़् *brīṭh'ilāz*, ignorance.

So **गूरिलाज़्** *gur'ilāz*, **चानिलाज़्** *chān'ilāz*.

26. **वय्** *way*, (fem.), used to mean the wages of any act (ix. ii. 85–87). Thus,—

चानवय् *chānaway* (fem.), the wages of a carpenter.

दसिल्वय् *dōsil^away* (fem.), the wages of a plasterer.

From **नाव्** *nāv*, a boat, we have **नावय्** *nāvay*, the hire of a boat.

From **बोर्** *bōr^u* or **बार्** *bār*, a burden, we have **बार्वय्** *bār^uvay*, the wages of a porter.

27. **तोनु** *tōn^u* (masc.). This gives a meaning of **relationship**. It is added, as usual to the agent form (iv. 63). Thus,—

मोलु *mōl^u*, a father.

मालितोनु *mālⁱtōn^u*, fatherhood.

माजू *māj^{jū}*, a mother.

माजितोनु *mājⁱtōn^u*, motherhood.

बोय् *bōy^u*, a brother.

बायितोनु *bāyⁱtōn^u*, brotherhood.

पुथर् *puṭh^{ar}*, a son.

पुत्रतोनु *puṭ^aratōn^u*, sonhood.

हश् *haç*, mother-in-law.

हशतोनु *haçatōn^u*, mother-in-law-hood.

28. पोनु *pōn^u*, used instead of No. 27 when the relationship is not intimate (iv. 63). Thus,—

व्यस् *vyas*, a comrade.

दाय् *dāy*, a nurse.

पोज् *pōj^u*, low.

व्यसपोनु *vyasapōn^u*, comradeship.

दायपोनु *dāyapōn^u*, nursehood.

पाजिपोनु *pājipōn^u*, lowness of position (in a household).

29. उत् *ut* (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 64).

शथर् *ṣath^ar*, an enemy.

म्यथर् *myath^ar*, a friend.

पितुर् *pitur*, a father.

ऋष् *ṛṣ^u*, a saint.

बन्द् *band*, a relation.

शत्तुत् *ṣat^arut*, enemyhood.

म्यत्तुत् *myat^arut*, friendship.

पितुत्तुत् *piturut*, fatherhood.

ऋष्युत् *ṛṣyut*, sainthood.

बन्दुत् *bandut*, relationship.

30. उन् *un* (masc.), used with the following word (iv. 65).

मैथ् *maith*, a corpse.

मैतुन् *maitun*, the condition of a corpse.

31. उस् *us* (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 66, 67).

म्वण्ड् *mōṇḍ*, a widow.

द्वबु *dob^u*, a washerman (Cf. p. 34).

म्वण्डुस् *mōṇḍus*, widowhood.

द्वबुस् *dōbus*, a washerman's club, but द्वबिल् *dōbil*, the condition of a washerman (No. 23).

32. बद् *baḍ^u* (masc.), used in the following (iv. 68).

सन् *sōn*, a co-wife.

सनबद् *sōnbaḍ^u*, co-wifehood.

[So also पित्त्रिबद् *pit^aribāḍ^u*, fatherhood; बायिबद् *bāyibāḍ^u*] or बाजिबद् *bājibāḍ^u*, brotherhood, commensality (iv. 69).

The suffix is used with the numerals 100, and above (iv. 70), as follows :—

हथ् *hāth*, a hundred.

सास् *sās*, a thousand.

लच्छ् *lāch*, a hundred thousand.

हतबद् *hatabāḍ^u*, hundreds.

सासबद् *sāsabāḍ^u*, thousands.

लच्छबद् *lachyabāḍ^u*, hundreds of thousands.

Applied to vegetables, it means a bundle,—

हाक् *hākh*, spinach.

हाकबद् *hākabād^u*, a bundle of spinach.

मुज् *muj*, a radish.

मुजिबद् *mujibād^u*, a bundle of radishes.

ग्वग्ज् *gōg^aj*, a turnip.

ग्वग्जिबद् *gog^ajibād^u*, a bundle of turnips.

In all the above, as usual, the suffix is added to the form of the agent. मुज् *muj*, may also be मुजि *mujⁱ*, and it would then form मुज्यबद् *mujēbād^u*. Cf. No. 82 post.

33. बट् *bāṭh* (fem.), used in the following, बाजिबट् *bājibāṭh*, commensality (see No. 32), (iv. 69).

34. उल् *ul^u* fem. ज् *j^u*, used to form **adjectives** as follows (iv. 72–87).

गाट् *gāṭ^a*, wisdom.

गाटुल् *gātul^u*, fem. गाट्ज् *gāṭ^aj^u*, skilful.

काण्ड् *kōṇḍ*, a large spring, also a large round earthen vessel.

काण्डुल् *kōṇḍul^u*, fem. काण्ड्ज् *kōṇḍ^aj^u*, circular.

गण्ड् *gaṇḍ*, a knot.

गण्डुल् *gaṇḍul^u*, fem. गण्ड्ज् *gaṇḍ^aj^u*, in quantities, wholesale.

गथ् *gāth*, current of a river.

गतुल् *gātul^u*, fem. गत्ज् *gāṭ^aj^u*, excessive, very much.

गद् *gad*, (not used).

गदुल् *gadul^u*, fem. गद्ज् *gaḍ^aj^u*, very much.

टठ् *ṭaṭh^u*, a weight (usually of grain) weighing twelve seers.

टठुल् *ṭaṭhul^u*, fem. टठ्ज् *ṭaṭh^aj^u*, large enough to hold a ṭaṭh^u.

दग् *dōg^u*, a fist.

दगुल् *dōgul^u* fem. दग्ज् *dōg^aj^u*, shaped like a fist, lumpish.

पठ् *pōṭ^u*, a child.

पठुल् *pōṭul^u*, fem. पठ्ज् *pōṭ^aj^u*, an image, an idol.

मल्ल *mōl*, price.

मल्लुल *mōlul^u*, fem. मल्लजू *mōlājū^u*,
costly, high-priced.

साद *sād*, taste.

सादुल *sādul^u*, fem. सादजू *sādājū^u*,
taste, nice to eat.

काङ् *kōtsh*, bag.

काङ्गुल *kōtshul^u*, fem. काङ्गजू *kōtshājū^u*,
a porter.

छुक् *chōkh*, cleansing.

छुकुल *chōkul^u*, fem. छक्जू *chōkājū^u*,
clear, distinct.

चट् *tsāth*, cutting.

चटुल *tsatul^u*, fem. चटजू *tsatājū^u*,
a thief.

पथ् *pāth*, trust.

पतुल *patul^u*, fem. पतजू *patājū^u*, a
raft (fem. a mat).

चथ् *tsōth*, the anus.

चतुल *tsōtul^u*, fem. चतजू *tsōtājū^u*, a
sodomite.

राथ् *rāth*, night.

रातुल *ratul^u*, night-time.

दह् *dōh*, day.

दुहुल *duhul^u*, day-time.

मून् *mūn*, wool.

मुनुल *munul^u*, fem. मुनजू *munājū^u*,
woollen (with short ante-
penult).

35. युल *yul^u*, fem. इज् *ijū^u*, used to form adjectives as follows
(iv. 88-95).

टप् *tap^u*, ringlets.

टपुल *tapyl^u*, fem. टपिज् *tapijū^u*,
having much hair.

जट *jaṭ^u* (pl.), matted hair.

जयुल *jaṭyl^u*, fem. जटिज् *jaṭijū^u*,
having matted hair.

दाह् *dāh*, burning.

दह्युल *dahyl^u*, fem. दहिज् *dahijū^u*,
piteous (with short antepenult).

रस् *ras* flavour.

रस्युल *rasyul^u*, fem. रसिज् *rasijū^u*,
full of flavour, imparting
flavour. *E.g.*, रस्युल कुह ग्यवान्
rasyul^u chuh gyawān, he is sing-
ing sweetly.

मक् *mātsh*, consolation.मद्युल् *matshyul^u*, fem. मक्किज् *matshij^ū*, consolatory.स्रह् *srēh*, affection.स्रिह्युल् *srihyul^u*, fem. स्रिहिज् *srihij^ū*, affectionate (with change of antepenult, vowel).मिष् *miṣ*, a rag-nail, a piece of loose skin at the nail, a dolly-idler.मिष्युल् *miṣyul^u*, the same as *miṣ*; also a splinter or thorn under the nail.स्यक् *syākh*, sand.स्यक्युल् *sēkyul^u*, fem. स्यकिज् *sēkij^ū*, sandy, e.g., स्यकिज् बुतराथ् *sēkij^ū butarāth*, sandy soil; also sandy-tasty, mealy, of fruit.माज् *māj^ū*, a mother.माज्युल् *mājyul^u*, shy, tied to his mother's apron strings.36. युन् *yun^u*, fem. इञ् *iñ*, occurs as follows (iv. 96).मल् *mal*, dirt.मल्युन् *malyun^u*, fem. मलिञ् *maliñ*, dirty.

The termination also implies measure or weight (iv. 109). Thus,—

त्रक् *trākh*, a weight or measure of four and three quarter seers.त्राक्युन् कठ् *trākyun^u kāṭh*, a ram weighing a *trākh*; त्राक्युन् नट् *trākyun^u naṭ^u*, a jar holding a *trākh*.सेर् *sēr*, a seer.सीर्युन् थाल् *sīryun^u thāl*, a dish holding a seer.खार् *khār*, a measure of sixteen *trākhs*.खार्युन् बोर् *khāryun^u bōr^u*, a load weighing a *khār*.चत्रोक् *tsōtrōk^u*, a measure of four *trākhs*.चत्राक्युन् *tsōtrākyun^u*, containing that measure.पल् *pal*, four *tolahs*.पल्युन् *palyun^u*, weighing four *tolahs*.पाँजुव् *pāzuv^u*, half a *trākh*.पाँज्युन् *pāzaçun^u*, measuring half a *trākh* (iv. 110).

It will be observed that all the above are more or less irregular.

The suffix is also used with the words for sixty and seventy (iv. 111).

षेठ् *ṣeṭh*, sixty.

शीथुन् *ṣiṭhyun^u*, worth sixty.

सतथ् *satath*, seventy.

सतत्युन् *satatyun^u*, worth seventy.

We cannot do this with other numbers. Thus we say दहन् हन् दौद् *dahan han^u* (genitive) *dāḍ*, a bullock worth ten.

It is also used with pronouns (iv. 112). Thus,—

त्युत् *tyūt^u*, so much.

तीत्युन् *tītyun^u*, worth so much.

य्युत् *yyūt^u*, how much.

यीत्युन् *yītyun^u*, worth how much.

कूत् *kūt^u*, how much ?

कूत्युन् *kūtyun^u*, worth how much ?

यूत् *yūt^u*, this much.

ईत्युन् *yītyun^u*, worth this much.

We also have (iv. 113).

वरिह्य *warihy*, a year.

वार्थुन् *wārṣyun^u*, of one year ; one year old.

37. उन् *un^u*, is used as follows (iv. 97–98).

कूट् *kūt^u*, a beam.

कूटुन् *kūṭun^u*, a small beam, a stick.

दग् *dag*, a blow.

दगुन् *dagun^u*, a club, a mace.

38. र् *r*, is used with the following words to signify profession or calling (iv. 99–108).

रंग् *rang*, colour.

रंगर् *rang^{ar}*, a dyer.

खन् *sōn*, gold.

खन्र् *sōn^{ar}*, a goldsmith.

मन् *man*, a precious stone.

मन्र् *man^{ar}*, a lapidary.

जम् *tsam*, skin.

जम्र् *tsam^{ar}*, a leather worker.

दाँद् *dāḍ*, a bull.

दाँद्र् *dāḍ^{ar}*, a vegetable seller.

काँद् *kāḍ* (not used).

काँद्र् *kāḍ^{ar}*, a baker.

डास् *dās*, destruction.

डास्र् *dās^{ar}*, a destroyer.

फास् *phās*, discord.

फास्र् *phās^{ar}*, a causer of discord.

बंग् *bang^a*, Indian hemp.

बंगर् *bang^{ar}*, a hemp-smoker.

बम् *bam*, an impediment.

बम्र् *bam^{ar}*, an impeder.

लम् *lam^a*, delay.

लम्र् *lam^{ar}*, a delayer.

लाब् *lāb*, interest.

लाब्र् *lāb^{ar}*, a money lender.

साल् *sāl*, invitation.

सालर् *sāl^ar*, a member of a bride-groom's party.

लूठ् *lūṭh*, plunder.

लूटर् *lūṭ^ar*, a plunderer.

ब्रम् *bram*, delusion.

ब्रमर् *bram^ar*, a deluder.

Irregular is,—

लूब् *lūb*, covetousness.

लूदर् *lūd^ar*, a coveter.

[Others write these words रंगुर् *rangur^u*, खनुर् *sönur^u*, &c. Thus making the termination उर् *ur^u*, not र् *r*].

39. गर् *gar^u*, (masc.), fem. गर् *gar^u*, used to signify a profession relating to anything sold (ix. ii. 88, 89). Thus,—

लायगर् *lāṇgar^u*, (लाय *lāṇ* is fem. pl.), a seller of parched grain.

गंडनगर् *gaṇḍangar^u*, a book binder.

कंगजगर् *kaṅgañ^a-(plur.)-gar^u*, a comb-seller.

मंडनगर् *maṇḍangar^u*, a man who kneads cloth in water (to soften it).

This is not used with words which have other forms, like खनुर् *sön^ar*, in preceding list.

From दाञ्ज *dāñṇē*, paddy, we have, irregularly, दाँगर् *dāṅgar^u*, a paddy seller, *vide ante*, p. 70.

40. युम् *yum^u*, fem. इम् *im^u*, used to form ordinals (iv. 114.)

अक् *ākḥ*, one.

अक्युम् *akyum^u*, fem. अकिम् *akim^u*, first.

दह् *dah*, ten.

दह्युम् *dahyum^u*, fem. दहिम् *dahim^u*, tenth.

वुह् *wuh*, twenty.

वुह्युम् *wuhyum^u*, twentieth.

हथ् *hāth*, a hundred.

हत्युम् *hatyum^u*, hundredth.

सास् *sās*, a thousand.

सास्युम् *sāsyum^u*, thousandth.

कच् *kaṭs^u* (masc.) } , how many? कच्युम् *kaṭsyum^u*, fem. कचिम्

कच् *kaṭs^a* (fem.) } , (plur.) *kaṭsim^u*, which out of many?

यीति *yīti* (masc. plur.), how many. यीत्युम् *yītyum^u*, fem. यीतिम् *yītim^u*, which out of many.

तीति *tīti*, that many.

तीत्युम् *tītyum^u*, fem. तीतिम् *tītim^u*,
that out of many.

ईति *yīti*, this many.

ईत्युम् *yītyum^u*, fem. ईतिम् *yītim^u*,
this out of many.

41. इⁱ, fem. इⁱ, denotes place of origin (iv. 117). Thus,—

सोव्पोर् *sōvpōr*, Sopor, name
of a town.

सोव्पूरि नाव् *sōvpūrⁱ nāv*, a boat of
Sopor; fem. सोव्पोरि *sōvpōri*.

ईरान् *yīrān* Persia.

ईरानि गुर् *yīrānⁱ gur^u*, a Persian
horse; fem. ईरानि *yīrāni*.

चीन् *cīn*, China.

चीनि खोसु *cīnⁱ khōs^u*, a China cup;
fem. चीनि *cīni*.

हिन्दुस्तान् *hindustān*, India.

हिन्दुस्तानि कपुर् *hindustānⁱ kapur*,
Indian cloth; fem. हिन्दुस्तानि
hindustāni.

42. उर् *ur^u*, used as follows (iv. 118).

कशीर् *kaçir* (fem.), Kash-
mīr.

काश्शुर् कंग् *kāçur^u kõng* Kashmīrī
saffron.

So काश्शुर् पश्मीन *kāçur^u paçmīn^a*, Kashmīrī *pashmeena*; काश्शुर् कठ *kāçir^u kōṭh* (fem.), *aucklandia costus* from Kashmīr.

43. उकु *uk^u*, fem. चु *c^u*. This is used to signify origin, either in place or time. If उकु *uk^u* is preceded by य् *y*, युकु *yuk^u* becomes *ic^u* in the feminine. It is really one of the genitive particles (p. 37) (iv. 119, 120).

कति *kati*, where?

कत्युकु *katyuk^u*, fem. कतिचू *katic^u*, of
where?

तति *tati*, there.

तत्युकु *tatyuk^u*, fem. ततिचू *tatic^u*, of
there.

इति *yiti*, here.

इत्युकु *yityuk^u*, fem. इतिचू *yitic^u*, of
here.

यति *yati*, where.

यत्युकु *yatyuk^u*, fem. यतिचू *yatic^u*,
of where.

ऊति *huti*, here.

ऊत्युकु *hutyuk^u*, fem. ऊतिचू *hutic^u*, of
here.

कर् *kar*, when.करकु *karuk^u*, fem. करचू *karacū*, of what time.गर *gar^a*, a house.गरकु *garuk^u*, fem. गरचू *garacū*, domestic.राय् *rāth*, yesterday.रातुकु *rātuk^u*, fem. रातचू *rātacū*, of yesterday.परसु *parus^u*, the day before yesterday.परसुकु *parasuk^u*, fem. परसचू *parasacū*, of the day before yesterday.दक्षिण् *dachyun^u*, south.दक्षिण्युकु *dachinyuk^u*, of the south.खोवुर् *khōwur^u*, north.खोवूर्युकु *khōwaryuk^u*, of the north.The word अज् *az*, to-day, makes अज्युकु *azyuk^u*, of to-day.

44. युम् *yum^u* (or इम्), fem. इम् *im^u*. This termination is added to the post-position पारि *pārī*, beyond (cf. No. 70). When phrases like कमि पारि *kami pārī* occur, the मि *mi* of the pronoun is elided when this suffix is added (iv. 120). Thus,—

पारि *pārī*, beyond.पार्युम् *pāryum^u*, fem. पारिम् *pārim^u*, born in the country beyond (the hills). May also be written पारिम् and so throughout.कमिपारि *kamipārī*, in what direction.कपार्युम् *kapāryum^u*, of what direction.तमिपारि *tamipārī*, in that direction.तपार्युम् *tapāryum^u*, of that direction.यमिपारि *yamipārī*, in what direction.यपार्युम् *yapāryum^u*, of what direction.ऊमिपारि *humipārī*, beyond that.ऊपार्युम् *hupāryum^u*, of over there.इमिपारि *yimipārī*, in this direction.इपार्युम् *yipāryum^u*, of this direction.अमिपारि *amipārī*, in that (visible) direction.अपार्युम् *apāryum^u*, of that direction.

So also we have,—

ब्रौठ् *brōṭh*, in front.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

ह्यूर् *hyūr*^u, above.

प्यठ् *pyāṭh*, above.

तल् *tal*, below.

ब्वन् *bōn*, below.

अन्दर् *and^ar*, within.

न्यबर् *nyab^ar*, outside.

मञ्ज् *manz*, in.

ब्रूथुम् *brūṭhyum*^u, of the front.

पत्युम् *patyum*^u, of the rear.

हीर्युम् *hīryum*^u, of above.

प्यथुम् *pēthyum*^u, of above.

तल्युम् *talyum*^u, of below.

ब्वन्युम् *bōnyum*^u, of below.

अन्दर्युम् *and^aryum*^u, of within.

न्यबर्युम् *nyab^aryum*^u, of outside.

मङ्ज्युम् *manzyum*^u, internal (Cf. Nos. 8 and 22).

45. खल *khyal*^u, fem. खज् *khēj*^u, signifies multitude (iv. 121).

गाव् *gāv*, a cow.

गोवखल *gōv^ukhyal*^u, a herd of cows. *Vide ante*, p. 67.

गुर् *gur*^u, a horse.

गुरिखल *gurⁱkhyal*^u, a troop of horse.

गुपन् *gupan*, cattle.

गुपन्खल *gupankhyal*^u, a herd of cattle.

त्यूर् *tyūr*^u, a ram.

तीरिखल *tīrⁱkhyal*^u, a herd of rams.

जनान *zanān^a*, a woman.

जनानखल *zanān^akhyal*^u, a group of women.

महान्युव *mahanyuv*^u, a man.

महनिविखल *mahanivⁱkhyal*^u, a crowd of men.

It will be observed that the termination is added to the Nominative Plural.

46. अय् *ay*, used as follows (iv. 122).

लूख् *lūkh*, people.

लूकय् *lūkay*, a crowd of people.

47. उन् *un*^u, fem. ज् *ñ*, the genitive termination. It is used to form adjectives also (iv. 123). Thus,—

पान *pān^a*, self.

पनुन *panun*^u, fem. पनञ् *panañ*, own.

Note that in this word the long vowel of the base is shortened.

48. उद् *ud^u*, fem. ज्ञ *z^u*. This is used as follows (iv. 124).

पर् *par*, another.

परुद् *parud^u*, fem. परज्ञ *para¹z^u*,
another's.

49. थ *th^a*, used to form **adverbs of manner** (iv. 125), with elision of a preceding ह *h* (iv. 131). So also in other cases. Thus,—

तिह् *tih*, that.

तिय *tith^a*, in that manner.

यिह् *yih*, who.

यिय *yith^a*, how.

क्याह् *kyāh*, what?

क्यथ *kyath^a*, how? (vowel shortened, iv. 129).

इह् *yih*, this.

इय *yith^a*, thus.

ऊह् *huh*, thus.

ऊय *huth^a*, in that manner.

50. थ् *th^u*, fem. ङ् *tsh^u*, forming **adjectives of manner** (iv. 126).

Thus,—

तिथ् *tyuth^u*, fem. तिङ् *tits^uh^u*, of that kind.

यिथ् *yyuth^u*, fem. यिङ् *yits^uh^u*, of what kind.

किथ् *kyuth^u*, fem. किङ् *kits^uh^u*, of what kind?

इथ् *yuth^u*, fem. इङ् *yits^uh^u*, of this kind.

ऊथ् *huth^u*, fem. ऊङ् *huts^uh^u*, of that kind.

51. पाठि *pāṭhⁱ* or पाठिन् *pāṭhin*, used pleonastically after adverbs of manner, and similarly after other words (iv. 127, 128, 129). Thus,—

तियपाठि *tith^apāṭhⁱ*, in that way.

यियपाठि *yith^apāṭhⁱ*, how.

क्यथपाठि *kyath^apāṭhⁱ*, how?

इयपाठि *yith^apāṭhⁱ*, thus.

ऊयपाठि *huth^apāṭhⁱ*, in that way.

So also तियपाठिन् *tith^apāṭhin*, &c.

So also we have,—

बिय *biy^a*, other.

बियपाठिन् *biy^apāṭhin*, otherwise.

सोरय् *sōruy*, all.

सारियपाठि *sāriypāṭhⁱ*, in every way.

हल्ल् *haḷ^u*, crooked.

हल्लिपाठि *haḷipāṭhⁱ*, crookedly.

In the same way the termination can be added to the genitive of any noun.

E.g., तस॑न्दि प॑ठि *tasandⁱ pāṭhⁱ*, like that.

गुरि॑ स॑न्दि प॑ठि *guriⁱ sandⁱ pāṭhⁱ*, like the horse.

So also we have phrases like क्यथ॑ताञ्ज्पा॑ठि *kyath^a-tāñ-pāṭhⁱ*, in any manner. ताञ्ज् *tāñ* = Skr., अपि॑ *api*.

52. रंग॑ *rang^a*, used to form **adverbs of manner** as follows (iv. 130).

तमिरंग॑ *tamirang^a*, in that manner.

यमिरंग॑ *yamirang^a*, how.

कमिरंग॑ *kamirang^a*, how ?

इमिरंग॑ *yimirang^a*, thus.

ऊमिरंग॑ *humirang^a*, in that manner.

अमिरंग॑ *amirang^a*, in that manner.

अकिरंग॑ *akirang^a*, in one manner (from अ॒क् *ākḥ*, one).

द्वयिरंग॑ *dwayirang^a*, in two ways (from ज॒ह् *z^ah*, two).

त्रयिरंग॑ *trëyarang^a*, in three ways (from त्रि॒ह् *trih*, three).

सारिरंग॑ *sārirang^a*, in every way (from सो॒र् *sōr^u*, all).

यच्चिरंग॑ *yatsirang^a*, in many ways (from य॒च् *yats^u*, very).

सिठाहिरंग॑ *sithāhirang^a*, in many ways (from सिठा॒ह् *sithāḥ*, very).

53. इ॑, to form **adverbs of place** from pronominal bases (iv. 132). Thus,—

त॑ति *tatⁱ*, there.

य॑ति *yatⁱ*, where.

क॑ति *katⁱ*, where ?

इ॑ति *yitⁱ*, here.

ऊ॑ति *hutⁱ*, there.

अ॑ति *atⁱ*, there.

So also we have (iv. 155), formed from words which are not pronominal bases,—

ब्रौ॑ठ् *brōṭh*, before.

पथ्॑ *pāṭh* behind.

ब्रू॑ठि *brūṭhⁱ*, in front.

प॑ति *patⁱ*, in behind.

खोवुर् *khōwur^u*, left.खोव्रि *khōw^{ar}i* (p. 53), on the left.दक्षुन् *dachyun^u*, right.दक्षिन् *dachinⁱ* (p. 54), on the right.तल् *tal*, below.तलि *talⁱ*, below.प्यठ् *pyāṭh*, above.प्यठि *pyāṭhⁱ*, above.

54. अन *an*, अनी *anī*, अनस् *anas*, अनन् *anan*, added pleonastically to the adverbs of place mentioned in No. 53 (iv. 133, 135). Thus,—

कत्यन् *katyan*, कत्यनी *katyanī*, कत्यनस् *katyanas*, or कत्यनन् *katyanan*, where ?

तत्यन् *tatyan*, तत्यनी *tatyanī*, तत्यनस् *tatyanas*, or तत्यनन् *tatyanan*, there.

यत्यन् *yatyan*, यत्यनी *yatyanī*, यत्यनस् *yatyanas*, or यत्यनन् *yatyanan*, where.

अत्यन् *atyan*, अत्यनी *atyanī*, अत्यनस् *atyanas*, or अत्यनन् *atyanan*, there, &c.

55. इ *i*, to form adverbs of motion from (iv. 132). Thus,—

तति *tati*, from there, thence.

यति *yati*, from where, whence.

कति *kati*, from where ? whence ?

इति *yiti*, hence.

ऊति *huti*, thence.

अति *ati*, thence.

56. प्यठ *pyāṭh^a*, added pleonastically to the adverbs of motion from, mentioned in No. 55 (iv. 134). Thus,—

ततिप्यठ *tatipyāṭh^a*, thence.

यतिप्यठ *yatipyāṭh^a*, whence.

कतिप्यठ *katipyāṭh^a*, whence ?

इतिप्यठ *yitipyāṭh^a*, hence.

ऊतिप्यठ *hutipyāṭh^a*, thence.

This is merely the post-position of the ablative. Cf. Hindūstānī कहाँ से *kahāṁ sē*.

57. ओर् *ōr* used to form adverbs of place as follows (iv. 136).

तोर् *tōr* there ; योर् *yōr*, where ; कोर् *kōr*, where ? योर् *yōr*, here
होर् *hōr*, there ; ओर् *ōr*, there.

When the suffix य् *y*, even, is added, ओ *ō* becomes ऊ *ū*. Thus,—
तूर्य् *tūry*, even there ; यूर्य् *yūry*, even where ; कूर्य् *kūry*, even where ?
यूर्य् *yūry*, even here ; ऊर्य् *ury*, even there.

58. तु *t^u*, or तुय् *tuth*, used to form **adverbs of place** (iv. 136).
Thus,—

तत् तु *tat^u* or ततुय् *tatuth*, there ; यत् तु *yat^u* or यतुय् *yatuth*, where ; कत् तु *kat^u* or कतुय् *katuth*, where ? इत् तु *it^u* or इतुय् *ituth*, here ; ऊत् तु *hut^u* or ऊतुय् *hututh*, there ; अत् तु *at^u*, or अतुय् *atuth*, there.

With emphatic य् *y*, these become, ततुय् *tatuy*, ततुय्य् *tatuth^y*, even here ; यतुय् *yatuy* or यतुय्य् *yatuth^y*, even where, and so on (p. 88).

59. ओर *ōr^a*, used to make **adverbs of motion from** (iv. 137).
Thus,—

तोर *tōr^a*, thence ; योर *yōr^a*, whence ; कोर *kōr^a*, whence ? ओर *yōr^a*, hence ; होर *hōr^a*, thence ; ओर *ōr^a*, thence.

60. अलि *ali* or अलि *ālⁱ*, used to make **adverbs of time** (iv. 138).
Thus,—

तलि *tēli*, or तलि *tēlⁱ*, then ; यलि *yēli* or यलि *yēlⁱ*, when ; कलि *kēli* or कलि *kēlⁱ*, when ?

This termination is not used with other pronouns. The word for ‘now’ is वञ्ज् *wōñ*. ‘Even now’ is वुञ्ज् *wuñ* (iv. 139). ‘When?’ is also कर् *kar* (iv. 140).

61. इ *i*, or इ *i*, used to form **adverbs of time** (iv. 141, 143).
It is really the case of the agent, sometimes masc., and sometimes (to agree with विञ्जि *wizi* understood) fem. Thus,—

From—

रातुल् *rātul^u*, night time.

रातलि *rāt^ali*, by night.

We also have रात्कित् *rātkyut^u*, with the dative post-position (iv. 142).

दहल् *dōhul^u*, day time.

दहलि *dōh^ali*, by day.

न्यहक्कल् *nyahaphōl^u*, break of dawn.

न्यहक्कलि *nyahaphōli*, at daybreak.

सुल् *sul^ū*, earliness.

सुलि *suli*, early.

यच्चकाल् *yats̄kāl*, delay.
काल् *kāl*, time.

यच्चकालि *yats̄kāl̄i*, late.
कालि *kāl̄i*, at the (right) time.

We have also कालिक्यथ् *kāl̄ikyāth*, the day after to-morrow. क्यथ् *kyāth* is the sign of the Locative. Again ततिकालिक्यथ् *tatikāl̄ikyāth*, two days after to-morrow.

विज् *wiz̄*, time, takes this suffix, which is in this case, clearly the agent singular, in the following phrases.

कमिविजि *kamiwizi*, when ? तमिविजि *tamiwizi*, then ; यमिविजि *yamiwizi*, when ; &c.

62. स् *s*, used to form **adverbs of time** in the following. It is really the accusative singular (iv. 144).

कोज् *kōj̄^u*, the forenoon meal. काजिस् *kājis̄*, at the time of the forenoon meal.

मिम्युज् *mimyuṣ̄^u*, the after-noon meal. मिमिजिस् *mimizis̄*, at the time of the afternoon meal.

63. अन् *an*, used to form **adverbs of time**, especially with regard to the divisions of the day (iv. 145).

मन्दिज् *mandyuñ̄^u*, midday. मन्दिजन् *mandiñan* at midday.

दुपहर् *dupahar*, midday. दुपहरन् *dupaharan*, at midday.

कालचन् *kālacan*, evening. कालचनन् *kālacanan*, at evening.

बतन्यग् *batanyag*, the time of the night meal. बतन्यगन् *batanyangan*, at the time of the night meal.

बतद्ब् *batadab*, the time of going to bed after the night meal. बतद्बन् *batadaban*, at bed time.

अड्राथ् *adrāth*, midnight. अड्रातन् *adrātan*, at midnight.

पत्युम्पहर् *patyum^upahar*, the last watch of the night. पतिम्पहरन् *patimpaharan*, in the last watch of the night.

We even find this with foreign words, as,—

सुब्द् *sub^ah*, morning. सुब्दन् *sub^ahan*, at morn.

शाम् *çām*, evening. शामन् *çāman*, at eve.

64. अ *a*, used to signify **distribution**, with the prefix प्रथ् *prāth* (iv. 146). Thus,—

द्वद् *dōh*, a day. प्रथ्द्वद् *prāthdōh^a*, day by day.

(Also दृह *dōh^a*, day by day, iv. 147).

पहर् *pahar*, a watch.

प्रथ्पहर *prāthpahar^a*, at each watch.

वरिह्य *warihy*, a year.

प्रथ्वरिह्य *prāthwarihy^a*, yearly.

प्रथ् *prāth*, also simply governs the accusative.

Thus,—

अक् *ākḥ*, one.

प्रथ् अकिस् *prāth akis*, one by one.

विज् *wiz^u*, time.

प्रथ् विजि *prāth wizi*, each time.

महनिव् *mahanyuv^u*, a man.

प्रथ् महनिविस् *prāth mahanivis*, man by man.

जनान् *zanān^a*, a woman.

प्रथ् जनानि *prāth zanāni*, woman by woman.

When य् *y*, even, is added to the phrase प्रथ्दृह *prāthdōh^a*, the प्रथ् *prāth* is always dropped. Thus, always, दृहय् *dōhay*, even day by day (iv. 148). प्रथ्दृहय् *prāthdōhay*, is not used.

65. पथ् *pāth*, is also used to signify **distribution**, as follows (iv. 149).

दृहपथ् दृह *dōhapāth dōh^a*, day by day.

वरिह्यपथ् वरिह्य *warihyapāth warihy^a*, year by year.

जनिपथ् जनि *zanipāth zani*, person by person.

66. उस् *us*, used as follows (iv. 150, 151, 152).

इह् *yih*, this.

इऊस् *yihus*, this year.

ब्रौठ् *brōṭh*, before.

ब्रौठुस् *brōṭhus*, next year.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

परुस् *parus*, last year (with change of *t* to *r*).

प्रोर् *prōr^u*, belonging to the year before last.

प्रार्थुस् *prāryus*, in the year before last.

67. किन् *kinⁱ*, used to form **adverbs of direction from** (iv. 153) ; added to No. 55. Thus,—

ततिकिन् *tatikinⁱ*, thence ; यतिकिन् *yatikinⁱ*, whence ; कतिकिन् *katikinⁱ*, whence ? इतिकिन् *yitikinⁱ*, hence ; ऊतिकिन् *hutikinⁱ*, thence.

ब्रौठ् *brōṭh*, before.

ब्रौठिकिन् *brōṭhⁱkinⁱ*, from before.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

पतिकिन् *patⁱkinⁱ*, from behind.

दक्षुन् *dachyun^u*, right.दक्षिन्किन् *dachinⁱkinⁱ*, from the right.खोवुर् *khōwur^u*, left.खोव्रिक्किन् *khōw^rikinⁱ*, from the left.तल् *tal*, below.तल्किन् *talⁱkinⁱ*, from below.प्यठ् *pyāṭh*, above.प्यठ्किन् *pēthⁱkinⁱ*, from above.

68. कनि *kani*, used to form **adverbs of direction from** (iv. 153), with No. 59. तोरकनि *tōrakani*, from there; योरकनि *yōrakani*, from where; कोरकनि *kōrakani*, whence? होरकनि *hōrakani* or ओरकनि *ōrakani*, thence.

So also we have, signifying **cause**,—

तमिकनि *tamikani* or तवकनि *tawakani*, for that reason.यमिकनि *yamikani* or यवकनि *yawakani*, for what reason.कमिकनि *kamikani* or कवकनि *kawakani*, for what reason?इमिकनि *yimikani* or इवकनि *yiwakani*, for this reason.हुमिकनि *humikani* (not हुवकनि *huwakani*), for that reason.अमिकनि *amikani* or अवकनि *awakani*, for that reason.

It is also used with words of **time** to signify **uncertainty** (iv. 154). Thus,—

अज्कनि *azkani*, perhaps to-day; पगाह्कनि *pagāhkani*, perhaps to-morrow; काल्किथ्कनि *kālⁱkyāṭhkani*, (see No. 61), about the day after to-morrow; जत्रकनि *ūtrakani*, about the day before yesterday; दह्कनि *ḍahumkani*, about the tenth (lunar) day; हारकनि *hārakani*, about *aṣāḍha*.

69. पत *pat^a*, used to form **adverbs of time after** (iv. 153). Thus,—

तमिपत *tamipat^a*, after then.तवपत *tawapat^a*, after then, and so on, as in No. 68.

70. पार् *pārⁱ*, to indicate **direction from or in** (iv. 156). Cf. No. 44). Thus,—

कमिपार् *kamipārⁱ* or कपार् *kapārⁱ*, in or from what direction?तमिपार् *tamipārⁱ*, or तपार् *tapārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

यमिपा॑रि *yamipārī*, or यपा॑रि *yapārī*, in or from what direction.

इमिपा॑रि *yimipārī* or इपा॑रि *yipārī*, in or from this direction.

ऊमिपा॑रि *humipārī* or ऊपा॑रि *hupārī*, in or from that direction.

अमिपा॑रि *amipārī* or अपा॑रि *apārī*, in or from that direction.

And so on. So also,—

दक्षि॑निपा॑रि *dachinipārī*, from or on the right; खोव॑रिपा॑रि *khōwārī-pārī*, from or on the left; ब्रू॑ठिपा॑रि *brūṭhīpārī*, in or from the front; पति॑मिपा॑रि *patimipārī*, in or from behind.

From चो॑र *tsōr*, four, we have चपा॑रि *tsōpārī* or चवापा॑रि *tsōwāpārī*, in or from all round, i.e., all four directions.

But चो॑रिपा॑रि *tsōripārī*, in or from four directions only (iv. 157). As usual these nouns take the case of the agent.

71. कुन् *kun*, added to **adverbs of place** to signify **direction** (iv. 158). Thus (No. 57), तोकु॑न् *tōrkun*, in that direction; योकु॑न् *yōrkun*, in what direction; कोकु॑न् *kōrkun*, in what direction? योकु॑न् *yōrkun*, in this direction; होकु॑न् *hōrkun*, in that direction; ओकु॑न् *ōrkun*, in that direction.

तूर्यकु॑न् *turykun*, even in that direction; यूर्यकु॑न् *yūrykun*, even in what direction.

Again (No. 58), त॑तुकुन् *tat^ukun*, in that direction; य॑तुकुन् *yat^ukun*, and so on.

In these last the final तु *t^u* of the first element may be changed to थ् *th*. Thus,—

तथ्कु॑न् *tathkun*, in that direction; यथ्कु॑न् *yathkun*, in what direction; कथ्कु॑न् *kathkun*, in what direction? इथ्कु॑न् *yithkun*, in this direction; ऊथ्कु॑न् *huthkun*, in that direction; अथ्कु॑न् *athkun*, in that direction. With emphatic य् *y* we get, तय्कु॑न् *tathykun*, even in that direction; यय्कु॑न् *yathykun*, even in what direction, and so on.

Similarly we have,—

गाम् *gām*, a village.

गाम्कु॑न् *gāmkun*, in the direction of the village.

गर *gar^a*, a house.

गरकु॑न् *garakun*, in the direction of the house.

कल् *köl*, (fem.), a river.

कलिकुन् *kōlikun*, towards the river.

वारु *wārū*, a garden.

वारिकुन् *wārikun*, towards the garden.

छर् *hyar^u*, छर् *hyur^u*, or

छर्कुन् *hyar^ukun*, छर्कुन् *hyur^ukun*,

छूर् *hyūr^u*, above.

or छूर्कुन् *hyūr^ukun*, towards above.

बन् *bōn*, below.

बन्कुन् *bōnkun*, towards below.

The suffix can also be used as a post-position added to the accusative. Thus,—

मोलु *mōl^u*, a father.

मालिस् कुन् *mālis kun*, towards the father.

माजू *māj^ū*, a mother.

माज्य कुन् *mājē kun*, towards the mother.

So तमिस् कुन् *tamis kun*, towards him ; यमिस् कुन् *yamis kun*, towards whom.

72. उव् *uv^u*, (fem. चव् *av^ū*), signifies **composed of** (iv. 159). Thus,—

सन् *sōn*, gold.

सनुव् *sōnuv^u*, fem. सनव् *sonav^ū*, made of gold.

म्यच् *mēts^ū*, earth.

म्यचुव् *mētsyuv^u*, fem. म्यचव् *mētsyav^ū* made of earth.

काठ् *kāth*, wood.

काठुव् *kāthuv^u*, made of wood.

In all the above, the suffix is added to the form of the agent, but a final *a* is elided.

73. बुज् *buzy*, fem. the same, signifies **dependent on** (iv. 160). Thus,—

लूक् *lūkh*, people.

लूकबुज् *lūkabuzy*, dependent on people ; belonging to other people.

खड् *khōḍ*, a hollow.

खडबुज् *khōḍabuzy*, dependent on a hollow ; i.e., buried in the ground.

कलय् *kōlay*, a wife.

कलयबुज् *kōlayabuzy*, dependent on a wife ; having only one relation,—his wife.

74. ल्यक् *lyak^u*, fem. ल्यच् *lēc^ū*, used with अड् *aḍ*, half, as follows (iv. 161).

अडल्यक् *aḍalyak^u*, incomplete : e.g.

अडल्यच् कोम् *aḍlēc^ū kōm*, an incomplete action.

अडल्यच् लरू *aḍalēc^ū lar^ū*, an incomplete house.

75. रिङ् *ring*, used as follows (iv. 162) to make **diminutives**.

अब् *ab^ar*, a cloud.

अबरिङ् *abararing*, a slight cloud.

दूह् *d^ah*, smoke.

दूह्रिङ् *d^aharing*, a slight cloud of smoke.

वाव् *wāw*, wind.

वावरिङ् *wāwaring*, a little wind.

76. लथ् *lath*, (fem.), used to form **diminutives** of words signifying breath or light (iv. 163). Thus,—

प्राण् *prāṇ*, life.

प्राणलथ् *prāṇal^ath*, a spark of life.

शाह् *ṣāh*, breath.

शाहलथ् *ṣāhal^ath*, a trace of breath.

गाश् *gāṣ*, light.

गाशलथ् *gāṣal^ath*, a very little light.

चौङ् *tsōṅ^u*, a lamp.

चौङिलथ् *tsōṅil^ath*, a little lamp.

The final थ् *th* becomes त् *t* in declension. Thus, acc. sg. प्राणलन्ति *prāṇal^ati* (not प्राणलच् *prāṇal^ats^u*).

77. तर् *tar* (fem.), used to form **diminutives** of words meaning cloths (iv. 164).

कपुर् *kapur*, cotton cloth.

कपर्तर् *kapart^ar*, a piece of cloth.

पट् *paṭ^u*, woollen cloth.

पटितर् *paṭit^ar*.

78. चल् *chal* (fem.), used to form **diminutives**, especially of clothes (iv. 165).

कपुर् *kapur*, cotton cloth.

कपर्चल् *kaparchal*, a piece of cotton cloth.

चट् *tsōṭ^ū*, a cake.

चचर्चल् *tsōcēchal*, a piece of cake.

बुर्ज् *burja^a*, a *bhurja* leaf.

बुर्जर्चल् *burjachal*, a piece of *bhurja* leaf.

पट् *paṭ^ū*, a tablet.

पचर्चल् *pacēchal*, a piece of board.

कृन्मार्ज् *kr̥hnamāz*, the liver.

कृन्मार्जर्चल् *kr̥hnamāz chal*, a piece of liver.

79. तिलिम् *tilim*, also forms similar **diminutives** (iv. 165).

Thus कपर्तिलिम् *kapartilim*; च्यतिलिम् *tsöcētilim*; बुर्जतिलिम् *burja-tilim*, &c.

It is smaller than a thing formed with No. 78.

80. रेम्फ् *rēmph* (fem.) (*vide ante*, p. 62), used to form **diminutives**, and in **pity** (iv. 166). Thus,—

शूर् *çur^u*, a boy.

शूरिरेम्फ् *çurⁱrēmph*, a poor little boy.

गूर् *gur^u*, a horse.

गूरिरेम्फ् *gurⁱrēmph*, a poor little horse.

महनिव् *mahanyuv^u*, a man.

महनिविरेम्फ् *mahanivⁱrēmph*, a poor man.

चूँठ् *tsūth^u*, an apple.

चूँठिरेम्फ् *tsūthⁱrēmph*, a little apple.

81. रैत्श् *rētsh* (fem.), indicates **connexion**, including the idea of **partition** (iv. 167). Thus,—

कपुर् *kapur*, cotton cloth; कपर्रैत्श् *kaparrētsh*, a piece of cloth.

मातामाल्रैत्श् च्ह् *mātāmāl^rrētsh chēh*, there is some slight relationship with his maternal grandfather.

82. जण्ड् *zand* (masc.), added to words signifying vegetables or wood, to signify **a little** (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाक् *hākh*, spinach.

हाकजण्ड् *hākazand*, a little spinach.

काठ् *kāth*, wood.

काठजण्ड् *kāthazand*, a little wood.

पोष् *pōṣ*, a flower.

पोषजण्ड् *pōṣazand*, a few flowers.

ज्युन् *zyun^u*, firewood.

जिनिजण्ड् *zinⁱzand*, a little firewood.

स्युन् *syun^u*, vegetables, meat, &c., (eaten with rice).

सिनिजण्ड् *sinⁱzand*, a few vegetables (not meat. If meat is included in the idea, *zand* cannot be used).

मुजि *mujⁱ*, a radish (Cf. No. 32 *ante*).

मुज्यजण्ड् *mujēzand*, a few radishes.

83. काञ् *kāñ* (fem.), used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाककाञ् *hākakāñ*, a little spinach; काठकाञ् *kāthakāñ*, a little wood; पोषकाञ् *pōṣakāñ*, a few flowers; so जिनिकाञ् *zinⁱkāñ*; सिनिकाञ् *sinⁱkāñ*; मुज्यकाञ् *mujēkāñ*.

84. तुलु *tul^u* (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus;— हाकतुलु *hākatul^u*, a little spinach; काठतुलु *kāṭhatul^u*, a little wood; पोषतुलु *pōṣatul^u*, a few flowers. So जिनितुलु *zinⁱtul^u*; सिनितुलु *sinⁱtul^u*; मुज्यतुलु *mujētul^u*.

We may also add आ *ā* (iv. 170). Thus हाकतुलवा *hākatulwā*, a little spinach.

85. थोपु *thōp^u* (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाकथोपु *hākathōp^u*; काठथोपु *kāṭhathōp^u*; पोषथोपु *pōṣathōp^u*; जिनितोपु *zinⁱthōp^u*; सिनितोपु *sinⁱthōp^u*; मुज्यथोपु *mujēthōp^u*.

86. फलु *phal^u*, used to signify a little more especially of any kind of grain (iv. 169). Thus,—

दाञ्ज *dāñṣ*, paddy.

दाँफलु *dāṅphal^u*, a little paddy.

Vide ante, p. 70.

तमुल् *tōmul*, rice.

तम्लफलु *tōm^alaphal^u*, a little rice.

कर *kar^a*, peas.

करफलु *karaphal^u*, a few peas.

मंग् *mōng*, mung.

मंगफलु *mōngaphal^u*, a little mung.

So also,—

चञ्ज *ts^añ*, charcoal.

चञ्जफलु *ts^añēphal^u*, a little charcoal.

बठु *bath^u*, cowdung fuel.

बठिफलु *bathⁱphal^u*, a little cowdung fuel.

म्यच् *mēts^u*, earth.

म्यच्फलु *mētsēphal^u*, a little earth.

फलु *phal^u*, in the plural, means 'grains,' and is not used as a diminutive. Thus,—

दाँफलि *dāṅphali*, grains of paddy; तम्लफलि *tōm^alaphali*, grains of rice, &c.

आ *ā* may be added to फलु *phal^u*. Thus (iv. 170) बतफल्वा *bata-phalwā*, a little boiled rice.

87. म्वय् *mōy* or म्वया *mōyā*, may be used to form diminutives with any of the words mentioned in Nos. 75 to 86, except kinds of wood and grain (Nos. 82 and 86) (iv. 170). Thus;—

अब्रम्वय् *ab^aramōy* or अब्रम्वया *ab^aramōyā*, a small cloud; दहम्वया *d^ahamōyā*, slight smoke; वावम्वया *wāwamōyā*, slight wind; हाकम्वया

hākamōyā, a little spinach (only used of cooked spinach. हाकतुला *hākatulā* (cf. 84) means both cooked and uncooked); पोषम्वया *pōṣamōyā*, a few flowers; त्सम्वया *ts^añēmōyā*, a little charcoal; म्यत्सम्वया *mětsē-mōyā*, a little earth; बतम्वया *batamōyā*, a little boiled grain.

88. हन् *han* or हना *hanā*, used exactly like No. 87 (iv. 170).

Thus,—

अब्रहन् *ab^arahan* or अब्रहना *ab^arahanā*, and so on.

89. बल् *bal*, is added to any word to indicate the presence of water, or a place for offering sacrifices to minor deities or spirits (iv. 171, 172, 173). Thus we have.

व्यथबल् *vyathabal*, wherever the water of the Jhelam flows. *E.g.*, (to a man going to bathe) त्त्ह कतु गक्ख? व्यथबल् *ts^ah kat^u gatshakh?* *vyathabal*. Where are you going? (Answer) to *vyathabal*, i.e., to bathe in the Jhelam.

So गंगबल् *gangabal*, name of a well-known bathing place. मारुबल् *mār^ubal*, *vide ante*, p. 67, the water of the river Mār. पखरिबल् *pōkharibal*, a tank (with water in it), name of a well-known tank. क्रीरिबल् *krīrⁱbal*, a well; आवरिजबल् *āwarīñēbal*, a place where a funeral pyre is set up (always on the bank of a river); शिम्शानबल् *ṣimṣānabal*, a burning ghat, (always on the bank of a river).

सबबल् *sababal*, a place where a wedding dinner party is carried on वुरबल् *wurabal*, the place where the cooking fires (*wur*) for a bridegroom's party are used; कौदबल् *kōḍabal*, a brick or potter's kiln; राजबल् *rāzabal*, a burning *ghāt* (*rāz* is the superintendent of a burning *ghāt*. Hence, here used for a *ghāt*). ग्रटबल् *gratabal*, the site of a Persian wheel. यारबल् *yārabal*, the place where water (Skr. वारि *vāri*;) is offered to ancestors; i.e., according to Kāçmīrī custom, a bathing place.

An Account of Travels on the Shores of Lake Yamdo-Croft.—By SARAT
CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., RAI BAHADUR.

[Read February, 1897.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. EARLY ACCOUNTS OF LAKE PALTÍ.

In 1730, Orazio Della Penna, a Capuchin missionary, visited this great lake of Tibet and described it as follows :—

“The easternmost place is called Kambala, which is the name of a great mountain, on the slopes of which are many places, and in the plain at the foot to the south is a great lake called Iandro, which is eighteen days’ journey round, according to those who have made the circuit, but within are some hilly islands. The same lake has no outlet that I know of, and during a day and a half’s march round it, I can vouch that I saw none; while as regards the remaining portion, I have the authority of those who have made its circuit.”

This was the famous ring-like lake of Paltí, which has appeared in all maps since the days of D’Anville. The peculiar lake of Paltí, Piate, or Yam-dok-chu, with its great central island, like a large ring, first appeared on the map prepared by D’Anville, from the survey of the Lamas, under Jesuit instruction, which was published by Du-Halde in 1735. It has been repeated on all subsequent general maps. Giorgi, in his ‘*Alphabetum Tibetanum*’ (1762) says, that Palte lake, otherwise called Jang-so or Yam-dso, according to native report is of very great size, so that a man could not journey round it under eighteen days. It is three days’ journey from Lhasa. From the middle of the lake rises a continuous chain of hills and islands. On the southern side is a monastery, the abode of a great queen, who is born a second time, called Torcepano. She is honoured as a real goddess by the Indians and Nepalese, who worship her under the name of Bovani. The Tibetans believe a certain holy spirit is reborn in its divine essence in this hideous female, just as in the Grand Lama. Whenever she issues

from her house, or from the island, or journeys into the city of Lhasa, a procession precedes her. Mr. Bogle, it will be remembered, made the acquaintance of this female divinity; and Dr. Hamilton cured her of an illness, and visited her constantly:—

“The holidays at the new year drew nigh, and the Lama’s relations came from parts of the country to pay their respects to him. His cousin the Teshu-tzay Debo (Tashi-tse Deba), with his wife and family, his nieces, the two *annís* whom I saw at Teshu-tzay, their mother Chum Kusho; their true brothers, Pyn Kushos; and a half-sister Durjay Paumo (Dorje Phamo), a female Lama, who is abbess of monastery near the Piate Lake, and is animated by the spirit of a holy lady who died many hundred years ago. * * * *

“They stayed about two months at Teshu Lumbo, during which time Mr. Hamilton cured Durjay Paumo and Chum Kusho of complaints which they had long been subject to. * * * *

“The mother went with me into the apartment of Durjay Paumo, who was attired in a *Gylong’s* dress, her arms bare from the shoulders and sitting cross-legged upon a low cushion. She is also the daughter of the Lama’s brother, but by a different wife. She is about seven-and-twenty, with small Chinese features, delicate, though not regular, fine eyes and teeth; her complexion fair, but wan and sickly; and an expression of langour and melancholy in her countenance, which I believe, is occasioned by the joyless life that she leads. She wears her hair, a privilege granted to no other vestal I have seen; it is combed back without any ornaments, and falls in tresses upon her shoulders. Her *chanea*, like the Lama’s, is supposed to convey a blessing, and I did not fail to receive it. After making presents and obeisances, I kneeled down, and stretching out her arm, which is equal to “the finest lady in the land,” she laid her hand upon my head.”¹

Mr. Manning is the only Englishman who ever saw Lake Palti, and it appears from his narrative that he was not aware that the hills on the opposite shore formed an island. In his diary he wrote:—

“Pursuing our course, and gradually descending, the valley at length opened into a large stony plain, at the end of which stood a considerable town on the margin of an extensive lake, or little sea, as it is called. From the opposite or further margin of the lake rose diminutive mountains in a continued chain, which bounded the whole prospect in front.”

On the 1st of January 1866, the Pandit, trained and sent on his travels by Colonel Montgomerie arrived at the banks of the Palti or Yamdok-chu lake at a small post called Piahte-jong.

¹ *Markham’s Mission of George Bogle*, pp. 244 & 245.

He describes the breadth of the lake as varying from two to three miles, and says that it is reported to be very deep. In the centre of the lake there is a hill at the foot of which, are situated a number of villages. The circumference of the lake is about 45 miles ; it is crossed in wicker boats covered with leather.

The Pandit rode along the banks from Piahte-jong to the village of Demalung, from which point the lake stretches to the south-east about 20 miles, and then turns west.

This is the Pandit's account of the lake, extracted from his diary. He further reported to Colonel Montgomerie, that he was informed that the lake encircled a large island, which rises into low, rounded hills, 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, and covered with grass to the top. Between the hills and the margin of the lake, several villages and a white monastery, were visible on the island. The Pandit was told that the lake had no outlet, but he says, its waters were perfectly fresh. Mr. Manning on the contrary says, in the text, that the water of the lake is very bad. The Pandit's observations make the lake 13,500 feet above the sea ; and the island rises to 16,000 feet above the sea.

2. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF TIBET.

Tibet, to speak in the language of Captain Samuel Turner, strikes a traveller, at first sight, as one of the least favoured countries under heaven, and appears to be in a great measure incapable of culture. It exhibits only low rocky mountains, without any visible vegetation, or extensive arid plains, both of the most stern and stubborn aspect. Its climate is cold and bleak in the extreme, from the severe effects of which, the inhabitants are obliged to seek refuge in the sheltered valleys, and hollows, or amidst the warmest aspects of the rocks. Yet perhaps providence, in its impartial distribution of blessings, has bestowed on each country a tolerably equal share. The advantages that one possesses in fertility, and in richness of its forests and its fruits, are amply counterbalanced in the other by its multitudinous flocks and invaluable mines. As one seems to possess the pabulum of vegetable, in the other we find a superabundance of animal life. The variety and quantity of wild-fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds, in Tibet are astonishing.

The climate of the country north of the Himalayas within the distance of 60 miles, in a direct line from
Climate. the Kangchanjunga, is extremely cold. The summits of the mountains within this zone remain covered with snow

all through the year.¹ Owing to the high altitude and the rudeness of the winds which prevail there, the ground composed as it is of sand, gravel and loose stones, remains hard as if baked in winter. The climate and soil being alike inhospitable, in this part of the country, there is little habitation of men. The country is occupied by herdsmen and shepherds and also by *Kyang* (wild ass), wild sheep, antelopes, rabbits, wolves and other smaller wild animals. There are snow leopards but no tigers or snakes in Tibet. In the southern parts of Tibet are built cities and castles, and groves of poplar, willows, and stunted trees have been planted. The mountains are destitute of everything except grass and dwarf shrubs.

Sowing takes place in the beginning of May; the Tibetans gather little wheat, much barley which is their staple

Products. food, and some peas which they bruise and give to their horses and cattle. The latter crop is gathered in September. These harvests as well as that of rape from the seeds of which oil is extracted, yield sixty fold, and in good season eighty fold. The people grow carrot, turnips, radishes, garlic and onions. In the south and south-eastern parts are found, walnut, peach, apricots, wild apples and wild vines which yield a few grapes. There are some few flowers. The poplar, elm, willow and ash abound in most of the parks and groves of Tibet.

There are many gold mines in the provinces of U-Tsang, Chang, Takpo, Koñ-bo and Kham. Silver abounds in the last province which borders on China.

Mines and minerals. There are also mines of copper and nickel. Sulphur, vitriol, cinnabar, cobalt, turquoise, stones, amber and alabaster are abundant. The hills of Tibet have, from their general appearance strong mark of containing those fossils, that are inimical to vegetation. Tibet is very poor in iron. It is not that there are no mines of that useful metal in Tibet. It is probable that the Tibetans either do not know to work those mines or that they have no fuel, enough to fuse the metal. In the neighbourhood

¹ During my residence at Tashi-lhunpo, I took observations from the thermometer. I had a Fahrenheit thermometer and a pair of maximum and minimum thermometers. The thermometer during the month of October, was on an average 37° in the morning; at noon 45° and in the evening 40°. During the month of November there was frost in the morning and evening, and the thermometer stood below 30° in the morning and 36° at noon in the shade. A serene, clear sky prevailed, during day and night not a cloud was to be seen in it. The genial warmth of the sun in the transparent atmosphere made the days very delightful. The weather in the months of October and November was clear throughout, cool, and pleasant and the prevailing wind blew from the south and south-west.

of Tashi-lhunpo there is a lead mine. In the province of Chang-thang, about twenty days' march north and north-west of Tashi-lhunpo, there are immense mines of rock-salt which is universally used for all domestic purposes in Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan.

People in Tibet generally suffer from sore eyes, and blindness.

Diseases. The high winds which prevail nine months in the year, sandy soil, and glare from the reflection of the sun, both from the snow and sand, are evidently causes of the same. Coughs, colds, and rheumatism are frequent in Tibet. Simple fevers occasionally arise from temporary causes. They are easily removed, sometimes without treatment.

Liver diseases with the exception of *Pekan*, which is produced by sedentary habit and continual drinking of tea-soup made with rancid butter, are occasionally met with. Tibet is not exempt from venereal diseases. People suffer from it apart from other causes, more on account of the grossness of their food and for want of cleanliness in their habits of living. Smallpox, when it appears in Tibet strikes the people with too much terror and consternation. They pay less attention to those who are infected, thinking their case hopeless. All communication with the infected is strictly forbidden, even at the risk of their being starved, and the house or village is afterwards erased.

During the time I was laid up at the monastery of Samding I observed that the physicians there used roots and bark of roots for making powders and decoction for administering to their patients. The bark, leaves, berries, and stalks of many shrubs and trees are used in a pulverised state or in decoction. Some are astringent, some are of bitter taste, but the generality is employed to strengthen digestion and to work as tonics.

The Tibetans drink tea prepared in the manner of soup with butter and salt and leave a little in the cup, with
Food. which they make a dough with barley meal, and afterwards eat it. For dinner and supper they make the barley meal paste with tea and eat it with boiled mutton, kid or beef of yak when available. They are fond of a gruel made of dried meat, barley meal, radish, or dried curd. The Lamas seldom eat fish or fowl. All classes of people eat raw meat, though occasionally. Only the rich eat rice, bread and meat with sauce, as dainty dishes, called *Gya-zē* prepared after Chinese fashion. They drink malt beer: ardent spirit is seldom taken. The people generally use dried dung of cows, donkeys, horse and sheep, for fuel. Firewood is used when it is available in some districts. They cook in earthen-ware vessels. The Tibetans are skilful potters.

For clothing purposes they have only cloth of wool, serge, or yarn, blankets, which are seldom more than a foot in breadth, and skins with the hair on. In winter they use robes lined with lambskin. Silk robes lined with fur are used by the rich nobles and official Lamas.

Clothing.

They live in walled houses made of stone and sun-dried bricks, built with flat or terrace roof. Their houses are spacious and several storeys high. The grand Lama's residence at Lhasa is thirteen storeys and covers the entire summit of a hill. The temples are generally furnished with gilt turrets and domes made after the Chinese style. The houses are generally whitewashed with a kind of lime, their inside is often neatly plastered and contains paintings. The roof rests on wooden beams and is generally made of slate or clay beaten on branches of trees placed on the beams. The floor of their houses are generally kept clean.

House.

Mr. George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner whom Warren Hastings sent to the court of the Tashi Lama, brought back with them a very good opinion regarding the character of the Tibetans.

Character and Social Customs.

Visit- ing Tibet full one century after Turner's time, I returned with the same kind of impression of the character of the people. Humanity, and an unartificial gentleness of disposition, are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan. Without being officious, they are obliging; the higher ranks are unassuming, the inferior, respectful in their behaviour; nor are they at all deficient in attention to the female sex; in this respect their conduct is equally remote from rudeness and adulation. The women of Tibet in higher life enjoy an elevated station in society. To the privilege of liberty, the wife adds the character of mistress of the family, and companion of her husbands. Among the humbler classes the company of all, indeed, she is not at all times entitled to expect, different pursuits, either agricultural employments, or mercantile speculations, may occasionally cause the temporary absence of each; yet whatever be the result, the profit of the labourer is expected to flow into the common store; and when one of the husbands returns, whatever may have been his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home. The custom of polyandry which prevails here links whole families together in the matrimonial yoke, checking the increase of population in this singularly unfertile country. It also tends to prevent domestic discords, arising from a division of family interests, and to concentrate all the spirit, and all the virtues, inherent in illustrious blood. Jealousy causes unhappiness and dissensions where several men, not brothers, live in the company of one wife. The several husbands are then called *ñamdo-pyūn*, i.e., brothers on account of a joint wife.

In higher life courtship is carried on with little art, and quickly brought to a conclusion. The elder brother of a family, to whom the choice belongs, when enamoured of a damsel, makes his proposal to the parents. If his suit is approved, and the offer accepted, the parents, with their daughter, repair to the suitor's house, when the male and female acquaintances of both parties meet and carouse for the space of three days, with music, dancing, and every kind of festivity. At the expiration of this time, marriage is complete. Mutual consent is generally the bond of union, and the parties present are witnesses to the contract which is formed for life. In case when one man marries one wife mutual consent is supplemented by a pecuniary contract which makes it dissoluble.

The country round the lake does not exhibit a varied prospect; it is all a leafless, dreary scene; one uniform russet brown covers alike the valleys and the hills. On the summits of the hills, here and there, springs are seen arrested in their fall, and converted into solid monuments of ice. These contribute greatly, together with the universal nakedness of both hills and valleys, to impress the traveller with an idea of the extreme bleakness of the region, and the rigour of its climate. The atmosphere, indeed, is in an extreme degree keen and pure. The dryness of the soil and scantiness of vegetation, contribute little towards charging the air with humidity. It remains clear even to brilliancy throughout the year. In winter the water of the lake becomes frozen. Its expanse becomes uniformly smooth, presenting a most noble sheet of ice.

In the narrowest parts of the lake there are ferries. During summer and autumn small boats made of an entire skin of a yak ply across them, carrying one or two sheep, goats or persons. In winter on the frozen surface, dust and powdered cow-dung are thrown to make the passage of sheep and goat over them less slippery.

The smaller lakes freeze to a great depth which afford ground for skating, but the people of Tibet are ignorant of that kind of amusement; they, however, are very good sliders.

II.—ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS.

1. A VISIT TO SAMDING, THE GREAT MONASTERY OF THE LAKE COUNTRY OF YAMDO.

On the 15th of May, 1882, while I was proceeding to Lhasa, in the company of Lhacham Kusho, the wife of *Shápé* Phala, one of the four Ministers of the Grand Lama, of Lhasa, I suddenly fell ill at Nangar-tse.

The kind-hearted lady gave me an introduction to her cousin Dorje Pha-mo, the incarnate female hierach of Samding. In handing over the letter to me she said :—"Fear not Pandubla, Dorje Pha-mo will be as kind to you as myself. We have no hand in the inevitable consequence of *Karma*. You must submit to it, but I am glad that you have fallen ill here instead of at another place, for here we can send you to Dorje Pha-mo. Come directly to our house when you recover." She warned my two attendants Pador and Lama Tomola surnamed Tshingta not to desert me. Her two sons exhorted Pador to be a faithful and devoted servant to Pandubla (myself), and serve him to the last. It was about 9 A.M., when I slowly rode towards Samding. At a distance of about two miles from Nangar-tse, we crossed a sluggish stream which flowed towards the Yamdo lake. The rivulet was teeming with a small fish and overgrown with a kind of sedge, over which green moss was scattered. The plain over which we travelled was extensive towards the north and south.

Crossing three or four limpid, but sluggish streams, all on their way to join the great lake, we arrived at the eastern side of Samding monastery, which, perched on the top of a barren hill, looked very picturesque. The flight of stone steps from the foot of the hill to the top of it, along which a zig-zag pathway wound up, lined by a stone wall about six feet high and three feet broad, filled me with the greatest dismay : how could I ascend to that height when my heart throbbed even while I was seated on the pony ! Arrived at the large *Chhorten* (stūpa) where pilgrims generally halt and encamp, Tomola asked two men, who were coming down from the monastery, if Dorje Pha-mo was accessible to pilgrims, and if the two physicians were at the monastery. Being answered in the affirmative, I dismounted from the pony, and sat down gasping on a stone step. After a few minutes' rest we commenced our wearisome ascent. Taking rest at every bend of the stair, I reached its top about 300 feet in height. The top of the steps, however, was not the end, for a narrow pathway thence lead us further up to the foot of the monastery. From the eastern edge of the hill we now came to the north-western face of it, whence we enjoyed a grand view of the inner lake of Yamdo. Ascending a few steps, we arrived at the northern gate of the monastery, which faces the inner and higher lake called Dumo-tsho, the demon's lake. I saw with surprise several men walking round the monastery and continually twirling *Manikhorlo* (prayer wheels), for I thought men, excepting women pilgrims, had no access to the monastery of which the presiding head was an incarnate nun ; but the number of monks seemed to be large among the circumambulators. I was led along a narrow lane towards the north-east corner of the monastery. A few minutes after I was waiting

seated on the plinth of the building. Amchi Chhenpo the senior physician arrived, and with an appearance of kindness and sympathy, while feeling my pulse said “*mi-tog, mi-tog* do not apprehend (danger), do not apprehend; you have come from a great distance, I will give you good medicine.” He appeared to be about 70 years in age, quite grey, but with a frame still strong and sturdy, of middle stature, with agreeable features, broad forehead and dignified looks. Helped by Tomola, I followed him, and after ascending two ladders we arrived at the portico of his residence. The old man, while twirling his prayer wheel with the right hand, and frequently taking snuff with his left, observed the working of my lungs with attention as I walked and climbed up. He gave me two powders to be taken with warm water and ordered his cook to serve me with a cup of plain tea. Shortly after being refreshed we went to the place of the venerable lady Dorje Pha-mo, carrying Lhacham’s letter. Tomola represented my case to her through the Amchi Chhenpo, and paid five *tankas* with a scarf for her blessings and protection. Dorje Pha-mo was at this time performing some religious service. She received the letter and immediately consulted certain books on divination to examine my fortune. She then informed Tomola that she had found my illness to be serious though not fatal, in consequence of which, the speedy observance of some efficacious religious service would be urgently needed. As I had come from Tashi-lhunpo, and with a letter from Lhacham, she would be glad to see me later on. She also conveyed to me her leave to freely ask for anything we might require for subsistence during our stay at Samding. This assurance was most cheering, and enlivened my drooping spirits. Tomola went to the evening congregation of the monks leaving me in the old physician’s charge. He presented the assembly with enough of tea and butter, and also a few pieces of silver, together with a scarf, requesting them to pray for my recovery. The monks with one voice prayed that the gods might extend their mercy to me, a pilgrim from a distant land. Next day Tomola arranged to entertain the monks of the monastery who were about eighty, with food.

The monastery of Samding was built on the narrow neck of land which connects the peninsula of Donang with the main land of Tibet. It has the holy lake of Yamdo on its west and the accursed Dumo, the demon’s lake, on its east. Dorje Pha-mo is venerated for her power to suppress the demons which, it is believed, infest the latter.

The peninsula of Donang and the smaller islands of the great lake are frequented by great abundance of water-fowl, wild geese, ducks, and storks called *Tung-tung*, which, on the approach of winter take their flight to the milder regions in the Himalayas.

Large numbers of swans, the largest species of the crane kind, come here in summer and autumn and lay eggs, some of which are as large as a turkey's egg, in the sands and in the crevices of rocks near the banks. During the rainy season sounds resembling those of a falling avalanche, or what are called "Barisal guns," are heard from Samding and the neighbouring places to come out of the smaller lake in consequence of which it is called Dumo-tsho—the lake of the demon.

2. JOURNEY ON THE SHORES OF LAKE YAMDO-CROFT (PALTÍ).

On the 23rd of October (1882) on my way to the ancient monastery of Sam-yea, I revisited the place called Dsara tsan-chhur (the nook of the genii), so called on account of its being a hiding place of robbers who waylay travellers. Passing it with feelings of dread and danger, we entered into the tortuous winding of a rugged and gloomy valley, which passed, we began to see light as the glen widened. We then got a peep into the table-land of Nangar-tse and descried the famous monastery of Samding, the late scene of my sufferings. Its white walls and sombre roofs could be distinctly seen. At about 10 A.M., we arrived at the solitary village of Rhingla. Formerly when Rhingla was prosperous, a branch monastery of Samding existed here. It is now in ruins with the exception of a *chhorten*. There are two or three families here who make pottery. We cooked our breakfast in the house of an old potter of 70 whose two sons were engaged in turning pots. They employed a concave wooden pan, on which pots were turned by being twirled with the hand. During the rotation of the pan with the pot the potter shaped the latter with a wooden knife, and sometimes with his fingers. After breakfast we resumed our journey. Crossing the Dsara chhur which rising from Kharula empties itself in the Yamdo lake we ascended along the gentle slopes of a hill to take the road to Talung.

The contrast between the elevated and the lower platform of this lake country is most striking. The latter, which extended up to the margin of the lake, being covered with an extensive carpet of deep verdure, afforded refreshment to the eye, while the former, the abodes only of vultures and kites, was of a most repulsive and inhospitable aspect. The inlets of the Yamdo lake from this side were also numerous. We passed by a walled enclosure, adjoining which there were some ruins. We were told that this enclosure was solely used as a pony market, and that the annual pony fair of Talung formerly used to be held here. There were many *dōk* sheds, now deserted, probably owing to the shepherds and herdsmen having retired to more fertile parts of the country. We now found ourselves in a gravelly plain.

filled with scattered blocks of rock and boulders. The way, which threaded sometimes along the edge of the mountains and sometimes through the middle of the plain, was very rough. I therefore rode very carefully. The village of Talung (country of ponies), which has a hillock in its middle, from a distance presented a very imposing appearance. We arrived at this at 5 P.M. A castle-like monastery with painted windows and corner towers adorns its top. The village is large, containing upwards of two hundred houses, scattered over the flat. At the foot of the central hill there is another monastery belonging to Sakya. The barley-fields were all stony and evidently sterile. Far behind were the *dōk-pa* sheds. The yaks of the place appeared to be of good breed and large size. The people, from the way they had cultivated the lands, seemed very industrious. This year's crop had been much damaged by the frost and hailstorm of September. The villagers refused us shelter in their houses, suspecting Phurchung to be a *Duk-pa* (Bhutanese). The Bhutanese are called Lhopa (the Southern) at this place, and are very much dreaded, as they often make raids on this place for plundering the villagers of their cattle and grain. The skies were filled with rain clouds, and a slight shower fell. After making fruitless negotiations for securing our night's shelter under a roofed house, at last we came to the gate of the Sakyapa monastery, where many monks, the elders of the villages, and the villagers, including children and women, were standing in anxious expectation of the arrival of Je-tsun kusho of Sakya, who was just returning from a pilgrimage to Mon-chho-nag and other places of the South. The band was playing hautboys, drums, and the gigantic trumpets (called *Dung-chhen*). Gopon (our guide) winked at us not to speak, so we kept quiet, while he conversed with the villagers and succeeded in convincing them that we were not *Dukpas*. A kind-hearted *Gelong* (monk) conducted us to the interior of the monastery compound through a lofty doorway. The hall through which we passed was about 18 feet wide and about 15 feet high. Here the spectators were drawn up in two rows, and the Lamas of the monastery, dressed in their church costumes, were present to receive their revered lady, Je-tsun kusho. The *Gelong* agreed to accommodate us in the house of one of his friends. The *namo* (hostess), though very good-natured, still suspected us of being bad men from Bhutan, but being repeatedly assured by Gopon that we were not Bhutanese, she accommodated us in an out-house where ponies are halted, and furnished us with good *chhang* (malt beer). The stall was far from being comfortable; but since leaving Gyañ-tse I had been a stranger to comfort. Phurchung gave me a wretched meal. I slept well amidst the clamour of the religious service occasioned by the arrival of Je-tsun kusho.

24th October 1882.—We resumed our journey a little before sunrise. The streamlets were frozen and the ponies slid several times on the slippery ice; the wind was howling and extremely chill. My face, tightly bandaged with a piece of Assam silk cloth, was well protected; but my feet within the boots began to freeze, and I could hardly draw out my hands from inside the long sleeves of my lambskin vestments. There were no villages near the way. Far behind were the *dōkpa* tents, whence the howling of mastiffs was alone heard. From this distance the village and the monastery of Taling were visible. After two hours' journey we came to the edge of the Yamdo lake, a nook of which we had now almost doubled. We crossed the Shandung-chhu inlet of Yamdo with much difficulty owing to its being frozen. The Shandung monastery and the valley for some time formed the only object of importance within view. The morning sun had lengthened the shadows of the cliffs that overhang the Yamdo; so that we had to journey a long way under their shade, and could not enjoy the genial rays of the sun. To add to the discomforts a very chill, unwelcome breeze blew, freezing our extremities. We had a glimpse of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which is noted for its supplying the whole of Tibet with a class of fantastic dancers called Achi-Lhamo actors. Some of these professional players and dancers annually visit Darjeeling. As we came nearer we obtained fuller views of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which commanded a singular view, as it was situated like an eagle's eyrie amidst the bleak and sombre cliffs of Yamdo. Passing along the circuitous margin of another nook of the lake, we entered another broad valley with a stream in its middle flowing towards the lake. The large village of Ri-o-tag, I was told, was on this side of Yamdo. After an hour's ride we came within two miles of it. The plateau through which we now passed was several miles long and broad. To our right we saw at a distance of eight or nine miles the ruins of Ri-o-tag Jong. About a mile towards our right hand side we were shown a place near a village where we could breakfast, shortly passing the village we crossed the Ri-o-tag stream after which we crossed a saddle-like eminence. Beyond the latter is a stream flowing to the Yamdo, on the banks of which we halted for breakfast. This was a grassy patch of ground filled with cavities and mole hills. Phurchung prepared me a dish of boiled *phing* (vermicelli made of peas) and mutton with rice. At 10 A.M. we resumed our journey. We were now ascending an undulating plateau. This rose, as we proceeded, in successive retiring terraces, the undulations being in an ascending slope. These were covered with grass, now yellowish brown at the approach of winter. Presently the tortuous winding of the Yamdo came in view as

we ascended a gentle acclivity. An hour's ride brought us to the top of this ridge, which ran in a lateral direction from right to left till obstructed by the lake. From this eminence we saw the villages of Yurōp, Kegutag and Khyunpo-dō situated on the side of the lake. The country, though very thinly populated, yields extensive pastures, as could be judged from the healthy appearance of the numerous cattle—yak, sheep, goat, and donkeys grazing here and there. At 3 P.M. we saw a man coming towards us at a swift pace. Gopon accosted him, and after a short conversation found him to be his friend's son. As the man was going on urgent business to his home at Ri-o-tag, he said he could not come back to Shari in the evening, but begged us to pass the night at the house of his father-in-law, who was the richest man of Shari. Riding slowly down a gentle slope, we came to a flat dip, where we met a shepherd tending about three to four hundred sheep. He saluted me and pointed out to us the village of Shari, situated on the lee side of a ridge standing between Yamdo and a small lake about six or seven miles in circumference. The margin of this fresh water lake and the slopes on all sides were covered with excellent pasture, on which a number of cattle were grazing, while the lake itself abounded with wild ducks and swans, besides other water-fowl, all of which would have been very tempting objects for sportsmen. The village of Shari, which commands an excellent view of the smaller lake, being situated on an eminence on its bank, contained two rich families, the huts of whose *misser* (serfs) were scattered round their spacious houses. A long and well repaired *mandang* (votive pile of inscribed stones) with a pretty *chhorten* (*stūpa*) near it formed the frontage. Alighted near the *chhorten*, I sat on its plinth, and sent Gopon to negotiate for our night's accommodation. His acquaintance, who was unwell, was afraid of receiving us in his house, evidently from apprehension of smallpox. Gopon, however, after much entreaty, obtained his leave for our occupying the *Manilhakhang* (temple of the *mani* prayer wheel), and a maid-servant with a kettleful of tea came to conduct us to it. The *Manilhakhang* was a pretty turret-like stone house, measuring 8 feet by 10 feet inside with a small spire rising from the middle of its flat roof. Its outside was decorated with a dusky red cornice, and the stones of its bonded walls were painted with Buddhist figures, so it presented an inviting appearance. On entering I was received by a grey-headed man, and a small table was placed before me and tea poured in a China cup for my refreshment. The centre of the room was occupied by a *mani* cylinder (prayer-wheel) about three feet in diameter and six feet high. Its outside was covered with *mantras* (charms) in the *Lantsha* (Rañja character of Magadha) and the ever present mystic expres-

sion—*Ōm maṇi padmē hūm*. I spread my rug to the east of the cylinder, and accommodated myself in a space about four feet wide. The old man, whose sole occupation was to turn the prayer-wheel, had his bed at the opposite side. He continually muttered *Ōm maṇi padmē hūm*. The floor was good and remarkably clean; the walls were painted, containing basso-relievo figures from the Buddhist pantheon. There was no forage nor gram for our ponies. Phurchung cooked for me, and Gopon, after regaling himself with several bottles of *chhang* (malt-beer), went to sleep on the lawn-like margin of the lake, tethering the ponies to graze in the pasture. His friend had assured him that our ponies would not be removed by anybody during the night. The wind blew rather strongly during the first part of the night. I gave some rice and tea to the old man, who, considering me a sacred personage, prostrated himself several times to salute me, though I vainly tried to explain to him that being a layman I did not deserve such homage from anybody. When he came to receive my *chhag-wang* (benediction from the touch of the hand), I told him that I was no incarnate being, and could not place my palms on his grey head, but being equally subject to misery like himself, I could touch his forehead with mine as a token of sympathy with him as a brother man. I also pointed out to him the hands of Pema Juñ-nē (Padma Sambhava) the saint, where he could apply his forehead for benediction.

But this only impressed him with still more pious feelings, and he called some of his acquaintances, a few shepherds, to prostrate themselves before me, which they did. The old man told us of the condition of the monastery of Shari Gonsar, situated on the top of a hill behind the village, and also of the village where we ought to halt next day. I passed the night very comfortably.

25th October.—I awoke early in the morning, about 4 o'clock, refreshed and in good spirits. The ponies saddled, we started for Khame-dō, our next stage. The wind began to blow afresh with much fury, and the chill was simply tormenting. My body, though well protected by lambskins, could not escape the penetrating effects of the cold, and began to freeze. After crossing two large inlets of the Yamdo, we came to a nook of the great lake. While traversing the little promontary overhanging this nook, we met a woman of about 40 cutting wild plants resembling brushwood. The cold was so severe that I could hardly bring out my hands from within the fur sleeves, yet the woman was doing her work as if it was a summer morning with her. The nook passed, we came to a solitary village with three or four huts belonging to two *dōk-pa* families. Some yaks were grazing on the margin of the lake, which here presented a very desolate and

solitary appearance. Some pointed rocks interposed here and there. This passed, we crossed a small *La* (hill) and descended towards another lake which, with its grassy flat shores and the undulating slopes above them, looked very lovely and cheering. The dark blue expanse of water, now ruffled by the wind, rose in gentle waves. This was the lake Rombu-dsa, which is fed by a few inlets. Our way partly lay along the dried margin of the lake, which was sandy, and partly in grassy paths above the highest water mark. We passed a caravan of yaks and donkeys carrying heaps of fuel, consisting of fragrant weeds and some wood. After a slow ride of two hours along the margin of this lake and a flat valley beyond it we entered into a gorge, from which we had a glimpse of the Yamdo lake. Here there are two roads to Khame-dō one by the side of the great lake, and the other *viâ* Melung village across the Lonagla Pass. I was told that the latter was rather difficult on account of the steepness of the *La*. I, however, preferred the more difficult route, having been informed that I would have to use the saltish water of the Yamdo at breakfast if I went by the easier one. Half an hour's ride from this gorge brought us to the village of Melung. It was past 11 A.M. when I dismounted at the door of the *Gambu's* (village headman) house. He received me with much politeness, and begged to know how he could serve us. We bought *chhang* for our use and hay for our ponies. I preferred to sit in the yard, which was filled with cowdung, the *Gambu's* house being very low and the ceiling covered with soot. The *Nabo's* (host) brother sat near us and had a chat with Gopon about the Chinese Ampa's movements, as *Ūlag* (road service) was demanded from them. After breakfast we resumed our journey, intent upon reaching the next stage, which according to Gopon would be the village of Khame-dō. Our guide always sought places for halting where he had acquaintances; so that sometimes we halted after marching long distances, and sometimes after very short marches. Passing a dried-up water-course filled with boulders and broken stones, we ascended the steep slopes of Lonagla, also filled with splinters, rocks, and gravel. There were evidently no pastures, but still a few yaks and sheeps were grazing at this barren place. Gopon picked up some flints, and told us that the village derived its name from the flints, as *mē* in Tibetan means 'fire' and *lung* a "valley." Hence Melung is fire or flint valley. The *La* was high, and our ponies were knocked up. From the village to the top of the Pass it was about a mile's distance. The *La* crossed, we entered another spacious and flat valley intersected by sparkling brooks. On the slopes of the hills here juniper and other fragrant plants grow in abundance. The pastures for yaks and sheep were of luxuriant growth. The grass of this pleasant valley, now

growing yellow, refreshed our eyes. There was a remarkable contrast in the appearance of the opposite sides of Lonagla. Crossing the bends of several tiny streams, and passing across the valley, we arrived at the village of Kha, where the men and women were engaged in threshing corn. Heaps of sheaves lay in their yards. We now found ourselves in an extensive open country, more resembling a plain. As we proceeded onward, we caught a glimpse of some *jong* (castle) standing on a distant isolated peak. The valley was filled with numerous villages. The villagers, intent on their work, did not care to inquire about us, but only now and then stared at us with some curiosity. The dogs of this place were very fierce and powerful, and kept barking as long as we remained in their sight. Passing many houses on our left, and walking a distance of about a quarter of a mile, we entered the large village of Khame-dō, which stands on the flat slope of the ridge extending to the back of the village of Kha. At the entrance of the village there were several *Mandangs*. After inquiring from several villagers where we could get accommodation for the night, we were pointed out the house of one of the richest residents of the place who usually received guests. Several seats made of slabs resembling marble were placed in the courts of their residences as well as in the open ground. The houses of the villagers were very good looking, large and white-washed. The barley stalks were stout and long. Gopon told me that some of these altar-like seats were made by potters and painted with lime. The villagers use them for basking in the sun. At 5 P.M. we came to the gate of the rich resident whose guest we were to be. After much knocking we succeeded in getting the door opened by an old woman, who, after inquiring what we wanted, disappeared. After a while the *nabo*, an old man of nearly seventy, made his appearance and showed us his stable, where we could pass the night. It was on account of our guide's foolishness that we failed to get better accommodation here, for he offered only to pay one *tanka* (six *annas*) as house-rent, whereas this miserly landlord asked for more. I paid the *nela* (rent) immediately, which pleased the old man, who at my request supplied us with two stuffed cushions and a screen. The latter was very useful, as at the time a strong wind blew and we had no other protection against it, for the stables in Tibet are not like those in India. They are stalls open on three sides. When my rugs were spread and I took my seat as a respectable man, the *nabo* drew near and began to converse with me about the harvest which the people had just reaped. The crop of this year, he said, was damaged by the September frost. We bought from him a *Phagri* (sheep burnt like a pig after slaughter). This yielded us very fat mutton. Our host was one of the rich-

est men of the village, which contained upwards of a hundred families. His house is very large and surrounded by a wall with three gates. There were plenty of willow, juniper and other fragrant plants in this village. The juniper plant formed a part of their fuel, which chiefly consisted of dried cattle dung.

26th October.—I rose from bed at sunrise. Our miserly *nabo* came early to take back from us the curtain and the fine articles which he had lent us. We parted with him after an exchange of polite expressions. He begged us to come to his house on our way back. We resumed our journey at 6 A.M. A villager joined us near the precipitous rock which stands at the entrance of the village on this side. He proved a pleasant companion for a few miles. We passed along the side of another small lake, and were shown the large village of Ling, the seat of the *Jongpon* of this side of the Yamdo District. This fellow talked of certain orders that were received by the *Jongpon* of Ling from Lhasa to examine strangers travelling within his jurisdiction. He also said that similar orders were sent to Sam-yea. We crossed two little streams with him by wading across them. When we came to the bank of a third stream, which was the largest, he parted with us after showing us the *rab* (ford). My pony, in wading through the half frozen stream, once sank up to his knees, Gopon extricated us with much exertion. The pony had several stumbles besides. We now entered the extensive table-land of Kamoling, the Arcadia of Tibet. Here were grazing hundreds of ponies belonging to the Government of Lhasa. The head of the Government stables has one of his establishments here. It took us several hours to cross a bend of this large pasture land. Its breadth was ten to twelve miles, but its length appeared very great. There was no water in the several water-courses which intersected the plain. In some of the streamlets bulging crusts of ice were seen. We were very thirsty. At noon we arrived at the village of Shabshe, containing nine or ten families.

We cooked our breakfast in the court of a poor woman's house, filled with goat's dung and some goats' hair-bags and hay. Our good *namo* kindly lent us some fire-wood. The object of our preferring dirty huts and stables in a village to clean flats and river banks was that we got fuel, water, water-vessels, &c., from the host, which, as a rule, were generally included in the *nela* (house-rent). The *namo* was a very well-behaved and obliging woman. Though very poor, she seemed to be in good spirits and cheerful. She has three children by two joint husbands. We bought one-fourth of a sheep at one *tanka* from one of her neighbours, and some barley meal, of inferior quality.

After breakfast we resumed our journey. As there were several

ways leading in different directions, our good *namo* kindly accompanied us a short distance to show us the way to Sam-yea. There were other villages scattered in this upland plain, which passed we came to the little village of Tan-tha, situated at the foot of the *La*, we were about to ascend. Climbing up a short distance, we came near some well-constructed recluse's cells, now empty. These from a distance appeared like some monastic establishments. Gopon showed to me the monastery, situated on a dome-shaped hill near the lake, but half a mile off from the place. The ascent from here was very tiresome. But all these fatigues vanished when the height gradually widening the horizon brought sublimer scenes to my enchanted eyes. I really thought that the view from the top of Thib-la, of the snowy country of Tibet, of her far-famed lake and river, and of an immense congregation of snowy mountains which skirts like silvery fringes, on the vanishing line of the dark blue sky in the horizon, cannot be equalled by the sceneries of the glorious Himalaya. The numerous windings of this *scorpion lake*, as Yamdo is called, the countless hills and mountains which they surrounded, and the waving line in the horizon where the snows of Noi-jon Kang-Zang mingle with the blue summits of distant mountain ranges, were all visible from Thib-la. The valley of the deep and meandering Tsañpo, the dark pine and fir forests which here and there broke the monotony of the bleak mountain scenery, and the snowy mountains of Lhobra, bore a striking contrast to the scenery on the other side. Both defy description. On the southern flanks of this lofty pass, which appeared to be more than four thousand feet above the lake, a kind of broad-leaved plants, called *yeshi kogo*, grow. The dried leaves rustled as they were blown by the wind. The wind blew so strongly that I found it difficult to stand. This increased the fatigues of this exceedingly trying journey along the steep slopes of Thib-la. The down-hill journey was worse than the up-hill one. At 5 P.M. we arrived at the village of Thib. There were about ten houses in this little village, all clustered together and only separated from one another by narrow lanes and barley fields. Heaps of hay and unthreshed barley lined these little avenues. There were some willows of stunted growth in the village. We were conducted to the house of a well-to-do villager. The *namo* received us very kindly. One of her husbands was in the field reaping barley crop. Her elder husband was gone to Lhasa. We were accommodated in the upper floor of her house which was spacious enough. A part of the house was under repair. The night was very fine and the skies bright, and the little village with its white-washed houses and fields was bleached with moonlight.

An ancient inscribed Buddhistic statue from Ćrāvastī.—By THEODOR
BLOCH, PH.D.

[Read March, 1898.]

The statue with which I am dealing in this paper, was discovered by General Cunningham during the working season of 1862-1863 among the ruins of the modern Set-Mahet, in the Gonda District, Fyzabad Division, of Oudh. It was presented by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Elgin to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1863, and is now in the Indian Museum. It is a colossal standing figure,¹ 11' 8" high, made of a sort of reddish sand-stone, the same material which the Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period are made of. The head, the halo, and the right arm are almost entirely gone; the left hand is slightly damaged. The body is represented clad in a large garment, which leaves bare the right shoulder only. It is tied round the waist by a girdle, and reaches down to the ankles; round the left shoulder it is laid in the fashion of a Roman tunica. The feet are naked, and a peculiar object of uncertain meaning is represented standing between them. The statue has always been described as an image of Buddha, but from what follows it will become clear that this is not quite correct. It is a figure of a Bōdhisattva, and not of a Buddha. But, in any case, we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.

The most important part of the statue, however, is its pedestal. This is due to the fact that it contains in three lines an inscription in ancient characters of what Prof. Bühler in his *Indian Palæography* has called "the Northern Kṣatrapa type" of the last century B.C. or the first A.D. This inscription has been edited before by *R. L. Mitra*,

¹ The statue has been described or referred to previously by General Cunningham in *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, p. 339, Vol. V, p. VII, and Vol. XI, p. 86, and by Dr. Anderson in his catalogue of the *Archæological Collections* in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, p. 194.

in this Journal, Vol. XXXIX (1870), Part I, p. 130, and Plate VII, No. XXI, and by Prof. Dowson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. V, p. 192 and Plate 3, No. XXXII.¹ Both these editions are very unsatisfactory indeed, and it is for this reason that I now re-edit this ancient document.

The pedestal which contains the inscription, measures 3' by 6"; the inscription consists of three lines of writing, the size of which varies between $1\frac{3}{4}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Unfortunately the greater portion of the first line and a few characters in the beginning of the second are entirely gone; the remainder, however, is in a fair state of preservation. The lost portion contained the date, and it is owing to its loss that we are to resort to palæographic evidence for the purpose of forming an idea as to the age of the record itself and of the statue on which it is inscribed. I have already above stated my opinion on this point in describing the characters of the inscription as belonging to the "Northern Kṣatrapa Type." This type is to be found in the inscriptions of the *Mahākṣatrapa Cuḍasa* or *Çōḍāsa*, the son of *Ranjubula*, whose reign in the North-West of India preceded that of the Kuṣāṇa Kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, etc. Of *Çōḍāsa*, hitherto three inscriptions² have been found, viz.:—

- (1) An inscription from the Jail Mound in Mathurā: Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 30, and No. 1, Plate XIII;
- (2) An inscription from the Kaṅkāli Tilā at Mathurā: Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199, No. II (with facsimile);
- (3) The Mora Well Inscription: Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. XX, p. 48, and Plate V, No. 4.³

Compared with the considerably larger number of Kuṣāṇa inscription, the characters of these documents differ in the following points:—

(a) the letter *ya* when forming the second part of a compound (*saṃyuktākṣara*) is expressed by its full sign, not by the ligature: so in No. 1 (Mathurā Jail Mound Inscription) throughout, viz., *svāmisya*, *mahākṣatrapasya*, *Çōḍāsasya* (A. S. R., Vol. III, Pl. XIII); in No. 2 and No. 3 no compound letter with *ya* occurs;

(b) the upper cross-bar of the letter *ṣa* consists only of a short horizontal line attached to the left hand vertical line of the letter, while in the Kuṣāṇa *ṣa*, as a rule, it reaches as far as the right hand

¹ See also Cunningham, *l.c.*, p. 339, and Vol. XI, p. 87.

² With the exception of Mathurā Lion Capital, of course, which is inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī.

³ This is, correctly spoken, only an inscription of a son of Rājūvūla. His name is lost, but, in all probability, he was *Çōḍāsa*. A photo taken from an impression of this inscription is in the Indian Museum.

vertical line. This rule also holds good throughout in all the three inscriptions, viz., No. 1, l. 1: *kṣatrapasya*, l. 2: *puṣkarinī* (twice); No. 2, l. 2: *kṣatrapasa*, l. 3: *ghōṣēna* (twice); No. 3, l. 1: *kṣatrapasa*, l. 2: *vṛṣṇēna*, l. 4: *vapuṣā*;

(c) the more archaic form of *ṣa* is preserved, against the Kuṣāṇa form of this letter, which is nearly like a *ṣa* turned upside down: compare e. g. the *ṣa* of *Āḍāsasa* with *ṣiṣini* of Nos. II and XI, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199 and 201;

(d) of compound letters, as a rule, the top of the second lower-most letter is marked by the *seriff*, this letter being not merely a continuation of the down-stroke of the first. Thus, in No. 1, l. 1: *mahākṣatrapasya*, *āḍāsasya*, l. 2: *paṣcīma*, *stāmbha*;¹ in No. 2, l. 2: *svāmisa*, *mahākṣatrapasa*, *saṁvatsarē*; in No. 3, l. 3: *yastā*, l. 4: *jvalatā*;

(e) the writing, as a rule, is done with greater care and shows a preference for angular forms, against the cursive, slovenly executed letters of the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions. This will become clear at once by glancing over the facsimile-plates of Prof. Bühler's articles on Mathurā Inscriptions in Ep. Ind., Vols. I and II.

The same peculiarities of writing which, I trust, will be considered sufficient proof of an earlier age of the Northern Ksatrapa type, as compared with the Kuṣāṇa type, occur also in a number of cognate inscriptions from Mathurā or the country around it. Thus, e. g., in the Anyor Inscription in A. S. R., Vol. XX, Plate V, No. 5, and in Mathurā Inscriptions, ed. Bühler, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, No. 33; Vol. II, No. 4, 5 and 7. Among the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions, I know of only one document which exhibits the same characteristics. It is the inscription on the Elephant Capital from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā at Mathurā, figured in Plate V of A. S. R. Vol. III.² This inscription is dated in the reign of

¹ Of this inscription I have only seen the facsimile in Plate XIII of A. S. R., III, which is not altogether reliable as to these minor details.

² See also p. 20 of text. Of this interesting sculpture, the Indian Museum also possesses a photograph. In the Inscription it is said to be a *Nandiviṣāla*, which may mean, that the pillar was "as big as Nandin," but which also may be a technical term of unknown meaning. It is a Jaina sculpture, as may be seen from the concluding line of the inscription, which records that the monument was erected *Arahaṁtanaṁ puṣyāyē* 'in adoration of the Arhants.' The inscription, according to the photograph, reads:

(line 1) [Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya Dēvaputrasya Huviṣkasya saṁ 30-8

(line 2) hē 3 di 10-1 ētāyē purvāyē naṁdi-viṣālō

(line 3) pratiṣṭhāpitō Āivadāsa-ṣṛēṣṭhi-putrēṇa ṣṛēṣṭhinā

(line 4) [A]ryyēṇa Rudradāsēna Arahaṁtanaṁ puṣyāyē.

This means: "On the 11th day of the 3rd half-month (*pakṣa*) of the cold season, in the year 38, (during the reign of) Mahārāja Dēvaputra Huviṣka, on this date (specified as) above, this (pillar which is) as big as Nandin (?) has been set up by

Huviṣka, in the year 38 (38 in text; the plate gives 18), and here too the ancient form of *ṣa* is preserved throughout; but *ya* in compound letters is given in its full form only once, in *āryyēṇa* (line 4), and the rule as to the *seriff* on top of the second part of compound letters never appears to be observed. Thus, this isolated document cannot prove much against what I have said above as to the difference between the Northern Kṣatrapa and Kuṣaṇa type of writing.

Now it is the former, not the latter, type to which the characters of the inscription from Ćrāvastī almost decidedly belong. This will be clear even from the facsimile given by Prof. Dowson.¹

Thus : (a) the letter *ya* in compounds is expressed by its full form throughout with the only exception of *puṣya* in line 1, where we have a ligature of exactly the same form as *e.g.* in the various compound letters *sya* in No. 12, of A. S. R., Vol. III, Plate XIV; thus, in line 1 : *bhikṣusya*, line 2 : *saddhyavihārisya*, *bhikṣusya*, *Balasya*, *trēpiṭakasya*, line 3 : *acaryyāṇām*;

(b) *ṣa* is written in its ancient form, with a small cross-bar, throughout : *viz.*, line 1 : *bhikṣusya*, *Puṣya*, line 2 : *bhikṣusya*;

(c) *ṣa* occurs in its archaic form throughout : *viz.*, line 2 : *dāṇḍaṣṣa*, *Ćrāvastiyē*;

(d) the rule as to the *seriff* in compound letters is observed almost throughout : *see* line 1 : *purvayē*, *bhikṣusya*, line 2 : *saddhyavihārisya*, *bhikṣusya*, *Balasya*, *trēpiṭakasya*, *bōdhisatvō*, *chātraṇ*, *dāṇḍa*, *Ćrāvastiyē*, line 3 : *acaryyāṇām*, *sarvastivādinām*. There is only one exception from this rule, *viz.*, the letter *ṣa* in *dāṇḍaṣṣa* (line 2). This letter exhibits a cursive form, which looks very much like *ṣya*, but there remains no doubt as to the correctness of my reading, as may be seen from the context;

(e) the shape of the letters is decidedly more angular and reminds one strongly of the letters in Ćōḍāsa's inscriptions. In addition to this, I must call special attention to the *ḍa* of *dāṇḍaṣṣa* (line 2), which is of a much more archaic form than that usually met with in Kuṣaṇa, or even Northern Kṣatrapa inscriptions.

It is for all these reasons that I am inclined to believe that the inscription contained a date referring to the reign of one of the Kṣatrapa

the Seth, the noble Rudradāsa, the son of the Seth Ćivadāsa, in adoration of the Arhants." Both the Donor's and his father's name are compounds made with Ćiva, the pillar is described as being as big as Nandin, the famous vehicle of Ćiva; but the concluding words dedicate the monument to the Arhants. Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Ćaivism as its greater rival, Buddhism.

¹ I regret that it is impossible at present to publish a photograph of the Statue or a facsimile of the Inscription.

predecessors of the Kuṣāṇa Kings.¹ The inscription, accordingly, and so also the statue itself, belong to the last century B.C., or the first century A.D., for the question as to the date of those Northern Kṣātrapa Kings depends entirely on the date of Kaniṣka and his successors, a point, on which, to my mind also, Mr. Fergusson's phantastical conclusions have been too readily accepted by Prof. Oldenberg and others. In any case, there remains no doubt that the statue is one of the oldest Buddhistic images which hitherto have been found in India.

I now publish my transcript of the inscription, made from the original stone :

Transcript.

(line 1).

१० ७ एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्य .

(line 2). •[स्य]²सद्यविहारिस्य भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रेपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्वो³
क्कात्रं दाण्डश्च शावस्तिये भगवतो चंकमे

(line 3). कोसंबकुटिये अचर्याणां सर्वस्तिवादिनं⁴ परिगहे ॥

Translation.

“(During the reign of—, in the year—, season—, half-month—, on the) 19th (day), on this date (specified as) above (this statue of) a Bōdhisattva (together with) an umbrella and a stick, (being) the gift of the monk Bala, a teacher of the Tripitaka, (and) fellow-wanderer of the monk Puṣya-(mitra), (has been set up) in Ārāvastī, at the place where the Blessed One (i.e., Buddha) used to walk, in the Kōsambakuṭī, for the acceptance of the teachers belonging to the Sarvāstivāda-School.”

The language of this inscription is the well-known mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prakrit which is met with in all the Mathurā Inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period and thereabout. Practically it is the same

¹ The date must have contained a reference to the reign of a king. The broken portion of line 1 is much too long for a simple date, expressed, moreover, only by *saṃ* and similar abbreviations, as is the rule throughout in Mathurā and other cognate Inscriptions.

² Only the second portion, viz. *ya*, of this compound letter is visible. It is, however, evident that this *ya* belonged to the Genitive-termination of the proper name beginning with *Puṣya*, which may be conjectured to have been *Puṣyamitrasya*.

³ Traces of the first *ō* of *Bōdhisatvō* are still visible on the stone.

⁴ The letter *vā* of *Sarvastivādinam* has been added later. It is very small and hardly visible on the facsimile, but clear enough on the stone. Apparently the “additional letter *ta* between *sarvasti* and *dinam*, shown in R. L. Mitra's copy” as mentioned by Prof. Dowson (l. c. p. 192) is this letter *vā*.

language in which the *gāthās* of the *Lalitavistara* or similar Buddhistic books are written, and which I consider with Prof. Bühler, Kern and others to be the result of persons who spoke Prakrit and were unlearned in Grammar, trying to write Sanskrit. In fact till very late at the end of the Buddhistic period, all the Buddhistic Inscriptions are notorious for their neglect of the rules of spelling and grammar, and also the Buddhistic Sanskrit Literature, with a few rare exceptions, can not certainly be called classic as to its style, whatever its merits else may have been. The fact that the mixed dialect is exclusively used in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka and even earlier certainly proves the correctness of the Buddhistic tradition which places the translation into Sanskrit of the Buddhistic Scriptures into the time of Kaniṣka. In the Ārāvastī Inscription, we meet with the following instances of mixed forms, being half Sanskrit and half Prakrit :—

(a) the Loc. Sing. of feminine nouns in *ā* or *ī* is *-ayē* (i.e., *-āyē*) or *-iyē*; thus: *ētayē purvayē* (l. 1), *Ārāvastiyē* (l. 2), *Kōsambakuṭiyē* (l. 3);

(b) of masculine nouns in *i* or *u*, the Genitive Sing. takes *-sya*; thus: *bhikṣusya* (ll. 1 and 2), *saddhyavihārisya* (l. 2);

(c) compound letters are sometimes given in their Sanskritic, sometimes in their Prakritic form; thus *caṁkamē* (l. 2), *parigahē* (l. 3.) for Skt. *caṁkramē* and *parigrahē*, against *saddhyavihārisya* (l. 2; Sanskrit *sadhryavihārin*) and *acaryyāṇām* l. 3 (Skt. *ācāryāṇām*). Another instance is *Ārāvastiyē* (l. 2) for Skt. *Ārāvastyām*; this form, however, curiously enough re-occurs in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (see Petersburg Dictionary s. v. *Ārāvastī*);

(d) long vowels before compound letters are shortened as a rule, in accordance with Prakrit; thus: *acaryyāṇām Sarvastivādinām* (l. 3) for Skt. *ācāryāṇām Sarvāstivādinām*. The long vowel of *chātram dāṇḍaḥ=ca* (l. 2) for Skt. *chattram dāṇḍaḥ=ca* which is perfectly clear on the original stone, is due to the vernacular pronunciation, and agrees with such forms as *āntēvāsi* for Skt. *antēvāsi* in various other Mathurā Inscriptions, and the genitive termination *-āsa* instead of *-assa* in Bharhut.¹ The sandhi of *dāṇḍaḥ=ca* (*ibid.*) is, of course, an instance of the opposite tendency;

(e) a form of peculiar interest is *saddhyavihārin* in line 2. It corresponds to *sādhivihārin* in Sanchi Inscriptions, I, 209 (Ep. Ind. II, p. 379), where it has been translated 'fellow-wanderer' by Prof. Bühler (*l. c.*). Its first part is in Pāli *saddhim*, which in the dialect of this Inscription becomes *saddhya*. This clearly shows that Pāli *saddhim* does not go back to Sanskrit *sārdham*, as has been hitherto assumed by most scholars, but to Sanskrit सद्ध्यक् *sadhryak*, as has been first recognized by Prof. Pischel.

¹ See Bühler, *Epigr. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 195.

The Inscription records the gift of a Bōdhisattva by a monk Bala to some teachers of the Sarvāstivāda School, who resided at Ćrāvastī. He is called “a fellow wanderer (*saddhyavihārin*) of the monk Puṣya— (probably Puṣyamitra)” and a *Trēpiṭaka* or in Sanskrit *Traipitaka*, i.e., “one who has studied or teaches the Tripitaka.” A similar term, *pēṭakin*, is met with as early as the Bharhut Inscriptions,¹ and in later time we find the same title in the Inscription No. 6 from Kanheri (Arch. Surv. Rep. Western India, Vol. V, p. 77), a document written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D., where we read of a “*traipitakōpāddhyāya-bhadanta-Dharmavatsa*.² This clearly proves that the Tripitaka must have been studied in India till at least the end of the 5th century A.D. The existence in these days at and near Mathurā of the school of *Sarvāstivādins*, to which the recipients of the gift belonged, is well-known to us already from cognate inscriptions, and does not call for any remark.

By far the most important statements of the inscription, however, are the description of the gift itself, and of the locality where it was set up. The former is described as “a statue of a Bōdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick” (*Bōdhisattvō chātram dāṇḍaṣ=ca*, line 2). The Bōdhisattva of course is the statue on which the inscription is engraved; the umbrella apparently surmounted the statue, similar ones being frequently met with among the sculptures from Gandhara. In Bharhut, Sanchi and Gaya the presence of Buddha is generally indicated by a throne (*vajrāsana*) surmounted by an umbrella, and these also remain associated with him in later Buddhistic art. It is evident that the umbrella belongs to Buddha because he is a *cakravartin*, just as the wheel, the sign of the unrestrained progress of the law, marks him as an *apratihatacakra* or ‘universal king.’ According to the Lalita Vistara, the two signs of royalty, the umbrella and the two chowrees appeared already at his birth; we read here (p. 96) that at that time *antarikṣe dvē cāmarē ratnacchattram ca prādur abhūt*, and among the various reliefs from Gandhara representing this scene, which are now in the Indian Museum, there is one on which the artist literally followed the poet’s words and sculptured a chowree hanging in the air. The stick (*dāṇḍaṣ=ca*) I believe to have been a portion of the umbrella by which it was connected with the halo surrounding the head; it may have been laid out with jewels

¹ See Dr. Hultzsch’s Edition in Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges., Vol. XL, p. 74 and Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 23 f, No. 134.

² I believe *traipitaka* and *upāddhyāya* are two different titles of Dharmavatsa. He was one who had studied the three Piṭakas, and he had acquired the academical degree of *Upāddhyāya* or “teacher.” *Traipitaka* also occurs very often as a distinguishing title in Tārānātha’s Tibetan History of Buddhism in India, where Schiefner translates, “*Dreikorbhalter*.”

or some precious stones, for if it was merely a piece of wood or iron, no reason seems to me why the inscription mentions it specially. The umbrella, then rightly might have been called a *ratnacchattra*.¹

The statue itself is described as an image of a *Bōdhisattva*, not of a Buddha. To everyone who is acquainted with the ancient Buddhistic scriptures, it is well known that these two terms are never used promiscuously, but strictly distinguished from each other,² and that such a supposition would be quite out of place here, may be easily seen by comparing this word with the other *Bhagavatō caṃkamē* in the same line of the Inscription, where Buddha is spoken of as *Bhagavān*. This can be easily confirmed by looking over other ancient inscribed statues of Buddha. Here, with one exception only, the term *Bōdhisattva* is never employed in describing the image, but such other terms as *Buddha*, *Tathāgata*, *Bhagavān*, *Ćāstā*, etc., which also in literature signify the teacher after he had reached the state of enlightenment, in distinction from the preliminary stage of a *Bōdhisattva* or, as it is generally explained, “a being that in this birth is destined to reach the *bōdhi*, without being born again.” I refer to the following inscriptions:—

- (1) An Inscription on the pedestal of a large statue of Buddha, in Anyor near Mathurā: A. S. R. Vol. XX, p. 49 and Plate V, No. 5: the characters of the Inscription belong to the Northern Kṣatrapa type. The statue is described in line 1 as *Buddha-pratimā*;
- (2) An Inscription, incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman: Epigr. Indica, Vol. II, p. 212 and No. 42 of Facsimile Plate. The date of the Inscription *Sam* 74 with all probability refers to the Kuṣaṇa

¹ I must at least mention one other possible, though highly improbable, explanation of the words. On the Mathurā Lion Capital a *samanachatra* is mentioned which Prof. Bühler hesitatingly translated by ‘a stūpa of a monk;’ see Journ. Roy. As. Soc., New Ser., 1894, p. 536, note 6. He refers to the modern *chatrī* which is used for a certain class of tomb-like monuments not uncommon in Northern India, which, however, to my mind do not seem to have any structural resemblance with a Buddhist stūpa, but rather look like Muhammadan *Maqbirahs*. But, granted the correctness of this explanation, then we might take *chātram* in our Inscription as ‘a stūpa’; *daṇḍa* might refer to something similar to the *yaṭhi* (*yaṣṭhi*) in the Sue Bihar Inscription; see Dr. Hoernle’s edition in Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 327, probably ‘a metal rod containing the seven precious substances, and deposited inside the stūpa.’ This explanation, though scarcely probable, would however, prove important for the question as to whether the statue has been found by General Cunningham in situ, or not.

² A few isolated instances adduced by Prof. Windisch in his *Māra und Buddha*, p. 211, cannot prove anything for the time to which this statue belongs.

Era. The statue is described as *Bhagavatō Ćakyamuninā* (read :—*muninō*) *pratimā* ;

- (3) An Inscription on a statue of Buddha from Mankuar : Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 45. The Inscription is dated in the 129 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to 448–449 A.D. The statue is described as *Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-matā-viruddhasya...pratimā* ;
- (4) An Inscription under a figure of Buddha in the Kanherī Caitya Cave No. III : Arch. Surv. Rep. of Western India, Vol. V, p. 77, No. 6. The Inscription is written in characters of the Western alphabet of the 4th or 5th century A.D. The figure is called *Bhagavat-pratimā* (line 3 of inscription) ;
- (5) An Inscription on the base of a statue of Buddha from Sarnath, near Benares, now in Indian Museum : Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 281. The Inscription, on palaeographical grounds, may be allotted roughly to the 5th century A.D. The statue is labelled as *pratimā Ćāstuḥ*.

These are the only ancient Buddha statues, as far as I know, which contain Inscriptions giving us a clue as to the meaning of the image. But there is one remarkable statue still left which I have already been alluding to above. It is a statue of a seated Buddha from Budh Gaya, figured by General Cunningham in his *Mahābōdhi*, Plate XXV, and described *ibid.*, p. 53. This statue is also now in the Indian Museum, but unfortunately an inspection of the original sculpture does not give any more help in deciphering the mutilated Inscription on the base. On the contrary, some more letters have still broken off, and not even the whole context of Cunningham's facsimile is now to be found on the stone. But so much at least seems to me certain that its purport was to record the fact that a certain *Bhikṣu* set up this statue of a Bōdhisattva, who was represented as seated on a *simhāsana*, traces of which are still visible on the sculpture behind the neck of the figure. Thus, I believe, the words in line 2 of the Inscription, *viz.*, *Bōdhisattva-pratimānī simharathē pratiṣṭhāpayati* are best accounted for. Here then again we have a statue of a Bōdhisattva, not of a Buddha.¹

How then is this discrepancy to be accounted for? There is nothing in the head-dress to distinguish the Gaya Image from any

¹ I do not agree with General Cunningham referring the date 64 of line 1 of the Inscription to the Ćaka Era. The form of some letters of the Inscriptions, especially of *sa*, is much later and the true date probably lies 150 or 200 years behind. I am unable to make anything out of the name of the *Mahārāja* mentioned in the beginning of the record.

ordinary Buddha statue of about the same time or even later. With respect to the Ćrāvastī Image, we must leave off this point at all, as the head unfortunately is broken.¹ But the point, on which both the Gaya and Ćrāvastī image are alike to each other, while they differ from any ordinary Buddha statue, is the shape in which the garment is laid round the body, leaving naked in both the right shoulder. The ordinary type of Buddha represents the teacher dressed in the *saṃghāṭi* that large vestment which covers the whole body of a Buddhist monk, reaching to the ankles and leaving bare only the neck and the shaved head. It looks, indeed, very much so as if Buddhist artists in trying to revive the figure of their divine Lord in painting or in stone, did not imitate any other type among the Hindu Pantheon, but tried to depict the Lord so as the pious mind believed him to have been, and the model from which the first statues of Buddha were made, was the appearance of an ordinary Bhikṣu, just as the Jainas made the images of their *Tīrthaṅkaras* look like an ordinary Yati. If General Cunningham, therefore, with respect to the Ćrāvastī statue says that “the right shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures” (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), this is decidedly wrong. The evidence adduced above rather leads us to believe that *wherever we find a Buddhist statue which has the right shoulder bare, this is to be taken as a sign that the statue represents not a Buddha, but a Bōdhisattva.*²

It is not my intention here to press this argument. The evidence, I admit, is but scanty, and the subject is one which still labours under great difficulties. I merely want to point, in connexion herewith, to two other facts which tend to corroborate the result thus arrived at. The first point is taken from the Gandhara sculptures. Here the type with the right shoulder bare, occurs only in connection with a particular position of the hands which is generally described as

¹ I know of one more Buddha statue of very much the same style as the Ćrāvastī Image. It is only the upper part of the statue, shown on a photograph in the Indian Museum together with the statue described in A. S. R. X, 5, which Dr. Führer in his List wrongly calls an image of Aṣvaghōṣa, but which really seems to be an image of a Nāgarāja. Here the head is preserved; it is without any ornament or dress, the hair represented in the same conventional way as in the Mankuar Image where Mr. Fleet erroneously speaks of “a close fitting eap.” The *uṣṇīṣa* or ‘skull-born’ is also seen on this fragment. The vestment is very much like the Ćrāvastī Image.

² There is, of course, one more point in the shape of the dress of this statue which is against the ordinary fashion of Buddha images, viz., the girdle round the waist. The vestment of the Ćrāvastī image is decidedly not the *saṃghāṭi*, while those from Gandhara and Bihar, referred to further on, appear to be elad in this garment.

dharmacakramudrā, and which Prof. Grünwedel in his valuable “*Handbuch der Buddhistischen Kunst in Indien*” (Berlin, 1893, p. 146 ff) has from independent reasons, tried to establish as a characteristic of statues representing not *Ćākyamuni*, but the future Buddha *Maitrēya*. *Maitrēya*, according to Buddhist Mythology is not a Buddha yet, and I question the correctness of Prof. Grünwedel’s words who calls these statues representations of “*Maitrēya as Buddha.*” To my mind, it would be more appropriate to speak of them as “statues of *Maitrēya*,” and from the result which I have arrived at above, it is extremely probable that the fact that such statues wear the right shoulder uncovered by their vestment, is due to their being representations of a *Bōdhisattva*, in this particular case the *Bōdhisattva Maitrēya*.¹ The next point in connexion herewith refers to the Bihar Buddhist statues. Among these, I have met with the type of Buddha with his right shoulder bare only in connection with a peculiar attitude of the hands commonly called “*bhūmisparṣa-mudrā.*”² This holds good almost throughout, as far as I know. Now it is my opinion that this particular attitude where Buddha touches the earth with the top of the fingers of his right hand, while the left lies in his lap, always is intended to depict him as sitting under the *Bōdhi*-tree (which indeed is always represented on such statues), and calling the earth as a witness during his great struggle with *Māra*. This opinion of mine rests on the fact that in some of the Bihar images belonging to this type the demons of

¹ There remains of course one doubtful point. Some statues of a different type, representing figures in royal dress, and formerly called “statues of princes,” have been explained by Prof. Grünwedel as representations of *Maitrēya*. How then is this difference in type to be accounted for? I can see no reasonable explanation. My above statement rests on careful examination of the Indian Museum collection of Gandhara sculptures, among which there are about 200 images of Buddhas or *Bōdhisattvas*, coming partly from Swat, partly from *Yūsufzāi* (*Jamālgarhī*, *Takht-i-Bāhī*, etc.). I have come across only one exception, *i.e.*, a figure seated cross-legged, the right shoulder bare, and the right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. On the base of the statue, a small relievo of the *Indrasālaguhā* scene is sculptured (see my note in Proceedings, A. S. B., 1898, July, p. 186 ff). My statement referring to the *Bihār* sculptures also is based on the Indian Museum collection; the number of Buddhist statues among them may be given approximately as 200. Their date, as will be known, is the time of the *Pāla* Kings of Magadha.

² A fair specimen of this type may be seen in Plate II of this Journal, Vol. LXIII, 1894, Part I. It is a photo-etching of a statue excavated by Dr. G. A. Grierson near Rajgir, the ancient *Rājagṛha*. In the description given by *Bābū Ćarat Candra Dās* on the authority of *Lama Sherab Gya-tsho* (p. 37) this attitude is called the *dhyānī āsana* which seems to be wrong. Also the tree above the head of Buddha is wrongly called the *Kalpavṛkṣa*. Other similar statues may be seen in Cunningham, *Mahābōdhi*, Plate XXI V, D, E, F, and Plate XXVI.

Māra's army are still represented, while on the majority of them no sign of Māra or his warriors is visible. Further it must be noticed that in Sarnath¹ and Ajanta,² wherever the attack of Māra is represented, Buddha's attitude is exactly the same as in those Bihar images above described. And this holds good also for Gandhara, where Buddha's attitude in the Māra scenes is always that of *bhūmisparça*, as called by me above.³ This point again tends towards the same direction. For when Buddha was attacked by Māra, he was not yet a *Tathāgata* or a *Buddha*, he was only a Bōdhisattva, and wherever the scene is described in Buddhist Literature, he is spoken of by that term. Thus, here again, the right shoulder has been left uncovered, because the artist did not intend to represent the Divine Teacher after he had reached the perfect state of enlightenment, but merely in a preliminary stage, as a Bōdhisattva. The evidence, accordingly, derived from epigraphical as well as sculptural facts, tends to show that wherever we meet with a statue of Buddha which represents him with his right shoulder uncovered, we must consider this *a priori* as a sign indicating that the image is not meant for a Buddha, but for a Bōdhisattva.

But to return to the Inscription, we must now take into consideration the important statement as to the locality where the statue was set up. As we have seen already, the image was erected in Ćrāvastī (spelled Ćāvastī), in the *Kōsambakuṭī*, "in the place where Buddha used to walk" (*Bhagavatō caṅkamē*). Ćrāvastī, or in Pāli *Sāvatthī*, contained the *Jētavana*, a place on which Buddhists look with the same veneration as a Christian does on the house of Lazarus in Bethania. In this garden or park there were two buildings, as we learn from the famous medallion in the Bharhut Stūpa, labelled as: *Jētavana Anādhapēḍikō dēti kōṭi-saṁthatēna kētā*, i.e., 'Anāthapiṇḍaka gives the Jētavana (to Buddha), having purchased it⁴ for a layer of kōṭis (i.e., gold pieces)' (see Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Plates XXVIII and LVII). One of

¹ See Plates 67, 68 of Dr. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, Part I.

² There are two representations of Māra's attack on Buddha in Ajanta. One is a sculpture, figured in Plate LI of Burgess and Fergusson *Cave Temples*, the other the famous painting, a drawing of which may be seen, e.g., on page 93, wood-cut No. 31, of Grünwedel's *Handbuch*.

³ But on the specimens seen by me, about 3 or 4 in number, the right shoulder is covered. All of them are, however, very poor with respect to workmanship.

⁴ Dr. Hultzsch takes *kētā* as Pāli form of skt. *krētā*, but it is a gerund, corresponding to skt. *krītvā*; its prototype would be *krayitvā*, and it corresponds to *kiṇitvā* in the story of the Avidūrēnidāna (Fansböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 92). I also do not agree with his translation of the words *Kōsambakuṭī* as "the Hall at Kauṣāmbī;" see his edition of the Bharhut Inscriptions No. 39, on page 230, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, for 1892.

those two buildings is described as *Kōsambakuṭī*; it is the building mentioned in our Inscription, as has been recognized long ago by General Cunningham. The second building is called *gamdhakuṭī*, and is referred to directly in the tale of the Avidūrēnidāna (Jātaka, ed. Fansböll, Vol. I, p. 92), where we read that Sudatta (*i.e.*, Anāthapiṇḍika) erected this building in the centre of the park (*sō majjhē Dasabalassa gandhakuṭim kārēsi*). Further it is stated in the same place, that he also erected ‘places to walk, to sleep, and to stay during the day’ for Buddha (*caṃkamaṇa-rattiṭṭhāna-divāṭṭhānāni ca*), one of which doubtless was the *Bhagavatō caṃkama*, where the statue was set up, according to the Inscription.

It thus is establised beyond doubt that *the statue originally was erected in Ćrāvastī*, and the only point that remains for our discussion is the question whether we are entitled to identify the locality where the statue was discovered by General Cunningham in 1863, *i.e.*, the modern Set-Mahet with the site of the ancient Ćrāvastī?

It has been done so by General Cunningham; see his account on Sahet-Mahet, or Ćrāvastī, in Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 330 ff., and Vol. XI, p. 78 ff. This identification up to lately, seems to have been generally adopted, and is repeated by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, p. 306. Recently, however, it appears to have come into discredit again. I refer to V. A. Smith’s report on the Remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District (Allahabad, 1896) where in note 3, p. 4 he states: “I greatly doubt the correctness of the accepted identification of the site of Ćrāvastī. I have a strong suspicion that Ćrāvastī should be identified with Chārdā, or Chahārdah, in the Bahraich district, about forty miles north-west of Sēt-Mahēt (Sahēt-Mahēt). The latter place, which is commonly reputed to be the site of Ćrāvastī, will probably prove to be Sētawya, which was situated eastward from Ćrāvastī.” It is for this reason that I take up the question here again.

It would be wrong to infer from a statement contained in the diary of the Journey of Hiouen Thsang, that the image discovered by General Cunningham is the same statue which the Chinese pilgrim saw in Ćrāvastī. He tells us that (St. Julien, Hiouen Thsang, Vol. I, p. 296) “les bâtiments du *Kia-lan* (convent) sont complètement ruinés; il n’en reste que les antiques fondements. On ne voit plus qu’une petite maison en briques qui s’élève toute seule au milieu des décombres; elle renferme une statue du Bouddha.” Though this description closely agrees with the site where the General found the statue in 1863, yet from what immediately follows in Hiuen Thsang’s account, we learn that the statue which he saw, was made of sandel-wood, while Cunningham’s

statue is made of stone; and if we compare his account with the narrative of Fa-Hian (p. 75 of Beal's translation), it becomes evident that both refer to the same statue. This was recognized originally also by General Cunningham (see Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 340), but later on, he changed his opinion, and said (Arch. Surv. R., Vol. XI, p. 86): "When Hwen Thsang visited Srāvasti in A.D. 636, he found the Jetavana so completely ruined, that nothing more than the foundations remained. 'One small brick temple containing a statue of Buddha rose alone amid the ruins.' This solitary temple I have identified with No. 3,¹ because the Inscription which I found inside dates back to the early period of Indo-Scythian rule. *The statue must, therefore, have been enshrined in this temple several centuries before the time of Hwen Thsang; and as I found it inside the temple in 1863, it is certain that it must have been there in A.D. 636, when the Chinese pilgrim visited the Jetavana.*" This rather bold statement has been accepted without hesitation by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains, p. 310, where he says that "this very statue of colossal size, (*i.e.*, the statue seen by Hiuen Thsang) was found in 1863 by General Cunningham inside a small ruined brick temple." We may, of course, admit an error on Hiuen Thsang's side, but we have no reason whatever to do so. And, on the other hand, the fact that the statue does not seem to have been noticed by Hiuen Thsang, does not appear to me to value much. It may have been buried below the ground as early as in his time, and it may be owing merely to this fact that the statue has still been preserved to us in a country where stone material always, on account of its rarity, has been valued high and greatly demanded, while, on the other hand, further excavations conducted by General Cunningham and Dr. W. Hoey at the same site have been very resultless as to ancient sculptures or inscriptions.

While thus the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims become useless to us in deciding the question whether the image stood at Set-Mahet already at their time or not, we can, on the other hand, not derive an argument against the question at issue from the fact that the statue was made from the same material which was in use at the same time in Mathurā. For, as General Cunningham rightly observes (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), "we know that the sculptor's art was in a very flourishing state at Mathurā during the first centuries of the Christian era" and the same fact holds also good for a number of other ancient sculptures that have come to light in the country around Mathurā. We are perfectly justified in putting all these sculptures,

¹ This refers to Plate XXV, same Volume.

which, by no means, all have been found in Mathurā itself, but some of them at a considerable distance away, together under the class-term of Mathurā sculptures, just as we speak of Gandhara-sculptures, and such a term rests on much stronger grounds than many a similar one introduced by Indian Archæologists. If, indeed, we find a statue with an Inscription, approximately 19 centuries old telling us that the place where the statue was set up, was Ārāvastī and their being no visible signs that the statue has been transported from some other place, such as Inscriptions in later characters, etc., we must primarily infer that the site where it stands is the same place as that mentioned in the Inscription, until by some independent reasons we have come to the conclusion that such an assumption cannot be upheld. Such independent reasons, in our case, would be the distance in miles and the direction according to the horizon, as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims between Ārāvastī and other places visited by them.

The next place to which both Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tshang travelled from Ārāvastī, is *Kapilavāstu*, the birth-place of Buddha. The latter place, by the discovery in 1896 of the famous Paderia Edict of Aśoka, has been identified beyond doubt with a modern site in the Nepalese Terai to the north of Uska Bazar station. How far its distance from Set-Mahet in English miles is, I am unable to make out with certainty; its direction according to the horizon from Set-Mahet is to the East. The distance recorded by Fa-Hiang between Ārāvastī and Kapilavāstu is about 14 yojanas in a south-easterly direction;¹ Hiuen Tshang gives 500 li in a south-eastern direction as the distance between the kingdom of Ārāvastī and the kingdom of Kapilavāstu.² Both accordingly record the direction as lying to the south-east, while the actual direction between Set-Mahet and Paderia seems to be to the east. The question accordingly is: are we, on account of this discrepancy, justified in assuming that the statue has been brought to the place where General Cunningham found it, from somewhere else, while the actual site of Ārāvastī must be searched for somewhere to the north-east of Paderia?

¹ From Ārāvastī to Na-pi-ka, the birth-place of the Buddha Krakucchanda; 12 yojanas to the south; from this place to Buddha Kaṇakamuni's birth-place (*viz.*, the modern Nigliwa in Tahsil Taulehva, Nepal): less than 1 yojana to the north: from this place to Kapilavāstu: less than one yojana eastward; see Chapter XXI and XXII (p. 85-86) of Beal's translation.

² St. Julien, Vol. I, p. 309 "en partant de ce royaume (*i.e.*, *She-lo-fa-si-ti* = Ārāvastī), il fit environ cinq cents li au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de *Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu* (Kapilavastu)." I expect that the distance in *lis* and *yōjanas* agrees nearly with the actual distance in English miles between Set-Mahet and Paderia, but I have no means to work out this question, and I refrain myself, for this reason, from taking it into consideration. 500 *lis* or 14 *yōjanas* both come up approximately to 80 English miles.

To my humble opinion, such an assumption would be very difficult to maintain. Suppose, a pious Buddhist Monk or layman who had got hold of the statue at the place where it was standing previously, desired to make it a gift to some of his co-religionists who were then residing at the place which is now called Set-Mahet. For this purpose, he removed the statue, 11' 8" in height, and of a considerable weight some thirty or even fifty miles. Is it not then entirely in opposition to the usual custom in India that he took all this trouble and, in connexion with it, the considerable expenses upon himself without recording even his name on the statue? Ćrāvastī in 636 A.D. when Hiuen T'sang visited the place, certainly was already very much devastated, and only few Buddhists were residing there. But it must have been absolutely depopulated and no one must have been there to claim the possession of the image which even on its size would have excited the religious veneration of an ordinary Hindu or Buddhist, if he was allowed to take the statue away, and nobody dared to object, as it has been done now-a-days hundred of times to Archæologists and Collectors of sculptures for the various Museums. And is it really in accordance with the usual custom in India that, whenever a religious man wants to gain merit by setting up a statue or building up a temple, he utilizes some old broken stone which he has come across with at some distant place? On the contrary, in such a case, no respect whatever for any object of antiquity is shown—a feeling which indeed is entirely new to the ordinary Indian—and the donor rather boasts himself of having made a new statue, however ugly, out of some other piece of venerable antiquity.

These considerations make me inclined to trust the authority of the Inscription on the statue discovered by General Cunningham and to look upon the discrepancy in the direction as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim as a minor point of no considerable importance. There is some more Epigraphical evidence as to the site of the ancient Ćrāvastī which I may be permitted to add here, though, unfortunately, it does not help us any further. Ćrāvastī is mentioned also in the following Inscriptions:—

- (1) Madhuban Copper-plate Inscription of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj; date Harṣa-samvat 25=631–632 A.D.; Epigr. Indica, Vol. I, p. 72, line 8 ff. of Inscription: *Ćrāvastī-bhuktau Kuṇḍadhānī-vaiṣayika-Sōmakuṇḍikā-grāma*. The plate was discovered in 1888 by a ploughman in a field near Madhuban, Pargana Nathūpur, Distr. A'zamgarh, N.-W. Provinces.

- (2) Dighwa-Dubauli Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja
J. I. 37

Mahēndrapālādēva; date [Harṣa]-samvat 155=761-762 A.D.; Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, 1886, p. 112; line 7 ff. of Inscription: *Ārāvastī-bhuktau Ārāvastī-maṇḍal-āntahpātī-Vālayikā-viśaya-sambaddha-Pāṇīyaka-grāma*. The plate is in the possession of a Brahmin in the Saran District, Bihar, but seems to have been brought there from some distant place.

- (3) Kāṭak Copper-plate Inscription of the third year of Mahārāja Bhavagupta II.; date 11th century A.D.; Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 357; line 38 ff., of the Inscription mentions a Brahman who had come to Kāṭak from the bhaṭṭa-village Kāsillī in the Ārāvastī-maṇḍala (*Ārāvastī-maṇḍalē Kāsillī-bhaṭṭagrāma-vinirggatāya*).

All these localities, however, mentioned as lying in the *maṇḍala* or *bhukti* of Ārāvastī, I have been unable to identify; for that Vālayikā in the Dighwa-Dubauli Inscription (No. 2) may be the modern Ballia in the North-West Provinces, is nothing more than a mere guess. If it is possible to identify those places, they would certainly help to settle the question, but I am unable at present to do this.

To sum up the results of this paper, we learn from the Inscription on the base of the statue discovered by General Cunningham in 1863 at the modern Set-Mahet: —

- (1) that the statue was erected in the last century B.C. or first century A.D., and consequently is one of the oldest Buddhist images found in India;
- (2) that it represents a Bōdhisattva, and not a Buddha, this being recognisable also in the shape of the robe leaving the right shoulder naked;
- (3) that, finally, the statue originally was set up in Ārāvastī and that the place where General Cunningham found it, viz., the modern Set-Mahet, has to be considered on the authority of the Inscription as the site of the ancient Ārāvastī, notwithstanding a certain discrepancy in its actual direction from Kapilavāstu (Paḍeria), as compared with the direction recorded by the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hiuen Thsang.

*A new Inscription of Mahārāja Bhōja I., from Marwar, dated Harṣa
Samvat 100.—By THEODOR BLOCH, PH. D.*

[Read April, 1898].

This Inscription which is edited here for the first time, is engraved on a copper-plate discovered by Dēbīprasād, a Munsif of Jodhpur in Marwar State, Rajputana. It is stated to have come to light some fifty years ago during a heavy rainfall in a village called Sewa,¹ in Pargana Didwana¹ of the Marwar State, where it was lying buried under the earth, and whence it is said to have come to Daulatpur, in the same State; it is now deposited in the Darbar Hall of Jodhpur. I edit the Inscription from impressions kindly supplied to me by Dēbīprasād, Munsif of Jodhpur, who discovered the plate in Daulatpur and arranged for its being deposited in Jodhpur.

Judging from the impressions, the plate measures 1' 9" by 1' 4½"; its weight is said to be 30 seers. It is inscribed on one side only in characters of exactly the same type as the two Inscriptions of the same dynasty, already known to us, *viz.*, the Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla, and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Mahārāja Vināyakapāla.² The average size of the letters is ¾". The seal, measuring, according to the impression, 9½" by 6½", is soldered unto the proper right side of the plate; it resembles in shape exactly the seal of the two other plates, mentioned above. It contains an Inscription, consisting of 10 lines of writing in relievo, above which there is, in an arch, the figure of a standing goddess, doubtless the Bhagavatī mentioned in the Inscription as tutelary deity of Mahārāja Bhōja. The same figure is also to be seen in the upper portion of the seal of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate. The latter which I had an opportunity to inspect, leaves no doubt that this goddess Bhagavatī is intended for Durgā or Pārvatī, as she is represented

¹ Written सेवा and ديدوانہ respectively, in the vernacular alphabets.

² Edited by Mr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 105 and 138, with facsimile.

as holding a mirror and water-jar (*darpaṇa* and *kalaṣa*) in two of her left hands, both of which are among the attributes of this goddess.

The language of the Inscription is Sanskrit. With respect to orthography, the same peculiarities re-occur here, as in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates; *viz.*, the letter *b* is everywhere expressed by the sign for *v*; *parambhagavatī* (or *parambha*^o) stands for *paramabhagavatī* (in lines *e* and *k* of the seal, and lines 4 and 6 of the text); *samvatsrō*, in the date (line 16), is written for *samvatsarā* or *samvatsarāṇām*; *aṅga* is written for *aṁga* (in lines 10 and 14).

The Inscription opens with the well-known Genealogical list of Mahārajas from *Dēvaçakti* down to *Bhōja*; the same pedigree, in exactly the same words, is repeated on the seal also, and may be seen, too, in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates of Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakapāla. Thereafter, we learn, that the *Mahārāja-Çrī-Bhōjadēva*, from his victorious camp, pitched up at *Mahodaya* (line 1) issued a command to his officials in the village *Sivā*, belonging to the district (*viṣaya*) of *Dēṇḍvānaka*, which lay in the country of *Gurjjarattrā* (*Gurjjarattrā-bhūmau*; lines 6 foll.), informing them that a certain *Bhaṭṭa-Harṣuka* (line 8) had reported to him, that the above-named village (*viz.*, *Sivā-grāma*) had been granted by the present King *Bhōja*'s great-grandfather, *Mahārāja Vatsarāja*, (line 9: *parama-dēva-pādānām prapitāmaha, etc.*,) to his (*sc.* *Harṣuka*'s) grandfather, *Bhaṭṭa Vāsudēva*. This *Vāsudēva* again by a special deed (*pratigraha-pattrēṇa*), had made over the sixth part of its revenues to a certain *Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu* (line 10). *Mahārāja Bhōja*'s grandfather, the *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭa*, confirmed the original grant; but in the reign of the present King *Bhōja* (*dēva-rājyē*, line 11), both the original grant (*çāsana*) and the record of its being sanctioned by *Nāgabhaṭa* (*anumati*) had been lost. The *Mahārāja Bhōja*, therefore, after he had come to know about the grant, its sanction, and enjoyment, consented that the said village should be enjoyed by the Brahmans, the descendants of *Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva*, who belonged to the *Kāçyapa-gōttra* and were students of the *Āçvalāyana*-[*çākhā*] of the *Rg-vēda*, as well as by the Brahmans, the descendants of *Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu*, who belonged to the *Kātyāyana-gōttra* and were students of the *Āçvalāyana*-[*çākhā*] of the *Rg-vēda*, in the same way as it had been enjoyed before, and as the divison of the shares had been already settled (*prāg-bhōga-kramēṇ=aiva yathāṁgam*, line 14). Then follows a *çlōka* (line 15 ff.) which tells us that the *çāsana* was drawn up¹ by *Prabhāsa*, and that

¹ This is the meaning of the word *prayukta* according to Prof. Bühler's suggestion; see Mr. Fleet's note 9, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 137. The translation of the first line of the verse accordingly would be: "(This is the writing) of the long-enduring *çāsana*, drawn up by *Prabhāsa*."

the *Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa* acted as *dūtaka*.¹ The date² of the assignment (*nibaddha*) of the grant is the year 100, the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna. As in the case of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates, the date must be referred to the Harṣa Era, corresponding therefore to 706–707 A.D.

The new information which this Inscription furnishes regarding the history of this family of Mahārājas, is but scanty. It gives us the date Harṣa Samvat 100 (= A.D. 706–707) for Mahārāja Bhōja, and mentions the name of a *Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa* who has been left out in the later lists, apparently because he never ascended the throne. Of greater interest, however, are the localities mentioned in the Inscription. The village *Sivā*, the *agrahāra* of the Brahmin families descending from *Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva* and *Bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇu*, is described as lying in the *Gurjjarattrā-bhūmi*, in the *Dēṇḍvānaka-viṣaya*. The former I am unable to identify; but the latter apparently is identical with the modern *Didwānā*, the name of a town and pargana in Marwar State in Rajputana.³ The place is shown in the map accompanying Webb's Currencies of Rajputana, and also on Plate 27 of Constable's Hand Atlas of India; it is situated midway between Jaypur and Bikanir. Accordingly, the village *Sivā* must be identical with the modern *Sēwā*, the place where, if tradition can be trusted, the plate came to light some fifty years ago. The villages granted in the two other Inscriptions of the same dynasty, lay respectively in the modern districts of Faizabad in Oudh, and of Benares; but we now learn that one part at least of the dominions of this family of petty chiefs (*Mahārājas*) lay also on the other bank of the Jumna, about 500 miles distant from their *Zamīndārī* in Oudh and 700 miles from Benares.

I now edit the Inscription from impressions supplied by *Dēbīprasād*:

Text.

The Seal:

- (a) परमवैष्णवो महाराजश्रीदेवशक्ति-
- (b) देवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीभूयिका-
- (c) देव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज-
- (d) श्रीवत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः

¹ For other instances of a *Yuvarāja* acting as *dūtaka*, see Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla (Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 245), and Mungir Plate of Dēvapāla (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 258).

² Expressed by a symbol, not in numerical figures.

³ This has been already suggested to me by *Dēbīprasād*.

- (e) श्रीसुन्दरीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परंभगवतीभक्तो¹
 (f) महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्त-
 (g) त्यादानुध्यातः श्रीमदीसटादेव्यामुत्पन्नः पर-
 (h) मादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीरामभद्रदेवस्त-
 (i) स्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्रीमदप्पादेव्यामुत्पन्नः
 (k) परंभगवतीभक्तो¹ महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः [॥*]

The Plate :

- (1) ओं स्वस्ति [॥*] महोदयसमावासितानेकनौ² हस्त्यश्वरथपत्तिसम्पन्नस्कन्धा-
 वारात्परमवैष्ण-
 (2) वो महाराजश्रीदेवशक्तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्या-
 मुत्पन्नः परम-
 (3) माहेश्वरो महाराजश्रीवत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्रीसुन्दरी-
 देव्यामुत्पन्नः
 (4) परम्भगवतीभक्तो³ महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्री-
 मदीसटादे-
 (5) व्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीरामभद्रदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानु-
 ध्यातः श्री-
 (6) मदप्पादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम्भगवतीभक्तो³ महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ गुर्जरत्ता-
 भूमौ देगड्वान-
 (7) कविषयसम्बद्ध⁴सिवाग्रामाग्रहारे समुपगतान्सर्वानेव यथास्थाननियुक्ता-
 ग्प्रनिवासिनश्च
 (8) समाज्ञापयति । भट्टहर्षुकेन विज्ञपितं । उपरिलिखिताग्रहारस्सर्वीयस-
 मेत आचन्द्रार्का-

¹ Read परमभगवती०

² The reading नौ is quite obvious here as also in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates. Mr. Fleet's reading गो seems erroneous.

³ Read परमभगवती०

⁴ Read सम्बद्ध.

- (9) क्षितिकालं पूर्वदत्तदेवब्रह्म¹देयवर्जितः परमदेवपादानां प्रपितामह-
महाराजश्रीवत्स-
- (10) राजदेवेन मत्पितामहभट्टवासुदेवाय शासनेन दत्तो मुक्तश्च [।*] तेन
चास्य षष्ठान्शो² भट्टविष्णवे प्र-
- (11) तिग्रहपत्त्रेण दत्तः [।*] पितामह महाराजश्रीनागभट्टदेवेनानुमति-
ईत्ता [।*] देवराज्ये तु तच्छासनमनुम-
- (12) तिश्च विगतिसुपगतेतदित्यं³ विज्ञापितं शासनमनुमतिप्रतिग्रहपत्रं⁴
भोगश्च ज्ञात्वा मया पित्तोः पुण्याभि-
- (13) वृद्धये काश्यपसगोत्ताश्वलायनवह्वृचसत्रह्यचारि⁵भट्टवासुदेवान्वयजब्राह्म-
णानां⁶ कात्यायनसगोत्ताश्व-
- (14) लायनवह्वृचसत्रह्यचारि⁵भट्टविष्णवन्वयजब्राह्मणानाञ्च⁶ प्राग्भोगक्रमेणैव
यथान्शम⁷नुमोदित इति विदित्वा
- (15) भवद्विस्समनुमन्तव्यः [।*] प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा⁸ सर्वा-
या एषां समुपनेया इति ॥
प्रभासेन⁹ प्रयु[क्त]-
- (16) स्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः ।
श्रीमान्नागभट्टो ना[म्ना] युवराजोत्र दूतकः ॥
संवत्सो¹⁰ १००¹¹ फाल्गुनशुदि १०¹¹३ निवर्द्धं¹² ॥

¹ Read ब्रह्म.

² Read षष्ठांशो.

³ Read ंगतेत्येतदित्यं.

⁴ This ought to be either अनुमतिप्रतिग्रहपत्रे or अनुमतिं प्रतिग्रहपत्रं.

⁵ Read ंबह्वृचसत्रह्यचारि.

⁶ Read ंब्रह्मणानां.

⁷ Read यथांशम.

⁸ Read विधेयैर्भूत्वा.

⁹ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁰ Read संवत्सरा or संवत्सराणां

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹² Read निवर्द्धं.

The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Bīyāt.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ.,
I.C.S. (retired).

[Read November, 1898.]

This work, which is still in manuscript, owes its origin to the Emperor Akbar. We learn from the introduction to the *Akbarnāma* that when Abū'l-faẓl undertook, under Akbar's orders, to write the history of the emperor's reign, considerable pains were taken to collect the necessary materials. Among other things inquiries were made among members of the royal family and old servants of the Court, and all who had knowledge of past events were directed to put their recollections into writing. It was in obedience to this order that Bāyazīd Bīyāt, who was then holding an office in Akbar's kitchen, dictated his memoirs to a clerk of Abū'l-faẓl. The same order produced the charming memoirs of Princess Gulbadan, Akbar's aunt, and apparently also those of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer. There is a copy of Bāyazīd's Memoirs in the India Office, MS. No. 216. This was Erskine's copy, and is the one which I have used for this article. Major Raverty had another copy which he quotes in his Notes on Afghānistān, but which, he informs me, is no longer in his possession. I hope that other copies may turn up, and also that some scholar will one day undertake the editing of the text. If any one undertake the task, he will do well to consult MS. Additional 26,610 of the British Museum. This is a nearly complete translation of the Memoirs by Mr. Erskine, and which might almost be printed as it stands.

Bāyazīd Bīyāt belonged to a Turkish tribe, but was a native of Persia and was brought up in Tabrīz. This appears from p. 77*b* where we are told that 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī (Khān Zamān) was a neighbour of Bāyazīd's in Tabrīz when he was little, and also from p. 102*a* where it is stated that Bāyazīd grew up with 'Alī Qulī in the Āwa quarter of Tabrīz. Bāyazīd was the younger brother of Shāh Bardī Bīyāt, the saint and poet, who forsook the profession of arms to become a water-carrier and whose tomb is at Bardwān.¹

¹ See Professor Blochmann's article on Bahrām Saqqā, the name assumed by Shāh Bardī, in the J. A. S. B. for 1871, vol. 40, p. 281.

Bāyazīd dictated his memoirs at Lāhor in 999 (1590–91). He was then an old man, and though still in service,—he was Bakāwal Bēgī, or Steward of the kitchen,—he had had a paralytic stroke and was unable to write with his own hand. The facts that he was old and frail and that he had to dictate his recollections from memory account for their rambling character and for the inconsecutive style of the sentences. The Memoirs contain much valuable information, and in particular they give elaborate lists of Humāyūn's followers. They are also occasionally picturesque, as for instance, in the detailed account of the meeting between the two brothers, Humāyūn and Kāmran, after the latter had been blinded, but as a whole they are badly written and less interesting than the memoirs of Jauhar. They are styled on the fly-leaf of the MS. *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, but this title is not given by the author, who speaks of them only as a *mukhtaṣar* or abridgement, and it is not an adequate description of the contents, for the latter part of them is taken up with events of the reign of Akbar. They begin with Humāyūn's flight into Persia in 1543 and come down to the time of writing (1590–91). Abū'l-faẓl has evidently used them a good deal, though he nowhere expressly mentions them, and they are frequently quoted by Erskine in his valuable history of Humāyūn's reign. Bāyazīd tells us that nine contemporaneous copies of his book were made, two of which went into Abū'l-faẓl's library. I hope that some of them will be found one day in India. Bāyazīd's name occurs in the *Āīn* under the title of Bāyazīd Bēg Turkmān as a commander of three hundred (Blochmann's translation, p. 501), and his son Iftikhār is mentioned lower down (p. 516), as belonging to the class of commanders of two hundred.

The Memoirs begin with Humāyūn's arrival in Sīstān, and describe his journey to Harāt, and contain a copy of the elaborate despatch on which Shāh Tahmāsp gave directions to the governor of that city for Humāyūn's reception and entertainment. Bāyazīd, however, did not meet with Humāyūn, till the latter had joined the king of Persia at Zangān, and had gone hunting with him at Solomon's Throne (*Takht-i-Sulaimān*), south of the Caspian. After mentioning (at p. 11b) his own presence at the feasts and hunts, Bāyazīd tells us that when Humāyūn took leave of Shāh Tahmāsp and proceeded towards Tabrīz, he himself was in the service of His Holiness Saiyid Muḥammad 'Arab, the Shāh's *Imām* or chaplain, who had been entrusted that year with the conveyance of the royal donative to the shrine of Imām Rīzā at Mashhad. Apparently when Humāyūn went westward, Bāyazīd proceeded on the opposite direction towards Mashhad, for he was there

with his father when Humāyūn arrived on the first Shawwāl 951, (16th December, 1544). It was the day of the *‘Īdu-l-ḡitr* or the breaking of the fast of the Ramazān, but the weather had been so bad from rain and snow that the people of Mashhad had not been able to see the moon. Humāyūn, however, was able to satisfy the Qāzī that he had seen the moon when crossing the Zaqī¹ Pass on the previous evening and so after 9 A.M. all the inhabitants proceeded to the *‘Īdgāh*. Humāyūn stayed several days in Mashhad, putting up in an upper room (*bālākhāna*) behind Imām Rizā’s dome. One night he circumambulated the shrine and visited the tombs of the poet Mir ‘Alī Shēr and others, and in his zeal insisted upon acting as a servant of the shrine and on snuffing the lamps. This incident is also mentioned by Jauhar, (Stewart’s translation, p. 60), but is referred by him to Humāyūn’s first visit to Mashhad. Perhaps Humāyūn performed the ceremony twice. From Mashhad Humāyūn proceeded towards Afghānistān, and joined the Persian army on the banks of the Hilmand. He sent a force to take the castle of Bast, on the Hilmand near the junction of the Arghandāb, and Bāyazīd went with it, though apparently not in any official capacity. From Bast, Humāyūn went to Qandahār and besieged it for some months. Bāyazīd was here also, and accompanied Bairām Khān on his embassy to Kābul. On the way they were attacked by the Hazāras, and Bāyazīd records the feat of Muḥammadī Mirzā, a grandson of Jahān Shāh, the last king of the Turkmāns of the Black Sheep. Muḥammadī was on a horse which had been sent by Tahmāsp as a present to Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, and he leapt with it a ditch which was eighteen cubits wide, in order to attack a Hazāra archer who had wounded several of the king’s troopers. He killed him, but not before the archer had discharged his arrow and wounded the horse on the chest. Notwithstanding the wound, the horse carried Muḥammadī for ten miles further and then dropped. Here Bāyazīd incidentally mentions that the famous Bairām Khān, whom he styles Baharlū, claimed to be descended from the same family as Muḥammadī. At Kābul, Bāyazīd saw the child Akbar, who was then living with his grand-aunt Khānzāda Bēgam, and heard Māham Bēgha say, that he was born in 949 (the 946 of text must be a mistake), that he was then $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old, and that this date had also been written up in Kābul by his Majesty Humāyūn.

The embassy returned to Qandahār after about two months, and apparently Bāyazīd did not return with it, but joined his brother

¹ I cannot find this name on the map, though there is a place Zarkī marked N. of Mashhad. Probably the pass was to the west of Mashhad on the way from Nishāpūr.

Bahrām Saqqā who had not then become a darvesh and was in Gardīz, 65 miles S.-E. Kābul, in the service of Mīrzā Kāmrān. Later on, p. 19a, Bāyazīd tells us that Kāmrān took Gardīz, Naghaz, and Baugash from his brother Shāh Bardī and gave them to Khizr Khān Hazāra with instructions to guard the line of march from Qandahār and Ghaznī. Shāh Bardī *alias* Bahrām Saqqā received in exchange the districts of Ghūrband (N.-W. Kābul), Zohāk and Bāmīān, but when he came to pay his respects to Kāmrān on his way thither, Kāmrān requested him to put off his journey to Ghūrband till the affairs of the army had been settled. So Bahrām and his brother Bāyazīd stayed at Kābul till Kāmrān had reviewed his troops and till the arrival of Humāyūn. This was followed by the desertion of all Kāmrān's officers. Shāh Bardī was one of them and joined Humāyūn along with the famous Bāpūs Bēg and with Bāyazīd. Humāyūn entered Kābul on the 10th Ramazān¹ 952, (16th November, 1545), and had the pleasure of meeting again his wives and sisters, and his little son Akbar. Bāyazīd records that Muayyid Bēg Dūldai Barlās died only a week after the taking of Kābul, and that this was the cause of universal joy, every body saying that he was the Satan of mankind, and was the cause of Humāyūn's losing India, and that now there was hope that Humāyūn would recover that country. This is the same Muayyid who was so brutal as to cut off the hands of about 2,000 men who formed the garrison of Cunār and had capitulated.² Bāyazīd is charitable enough to express the hope that Munkir and Nakīr, the two angels who question the departed, may not have been so severe on Muayyid as were his fellow-men. In the spring of 1546, Maryam-makānī, Akbar's mother, arrived from Qandahār and the circumcision of Akbar, then between four and five years old, was celebrated in March of that year with great splendour, the city being illuminated, &c. for forty days. It was on the occasion of this *āinbandī* or festival that Bāyazīd's brother, Shāh Bardī, came under a spell,³ or was drawn to religion so forcibly that he gave up his profession of a soldier and became a water-carrier under the

¹ There is, as Erskine observes, Hist. II. 325, a discrepancy about this date, but he seems wrong in saying that Bāyazīd gives the year as 953. His own copy has 952; and that this is correct appears from the statement on p. 224, that the festivities at Kābul took place in the beginning of 953.

² The statement that Muayyid was the cause of Humāyūn's losing India is corroborated by Jauhar, (pp. 15 and 16 of Stewart), who says that it was owing to Muayyid's advice that Humāyūn crossed to the south-west of the Ganges, a step which led to the disaster of Causā.

³ Memoirs p. 19a *jāzaba rasīda* lit., an attraction or drawing occurred. There is another reference to this brother at p. 98a.

name of Bahrām Saqqā. His brother adds that he composed a *dīwān* or collection of poems which has been acceptable to all, both the elect and the general public, and that he went off to Turkistān, reciting, or making a rosary of (*tasbīḥ numūda*¹) the Persian *dīwān* of *Shāh Qāsim Anwar*,² and the Turkī *dīwān* of *Shāh Nasīmī*.³ We shall hear of him again as a water-carrier in the streets of Agra.

After some days of feasting the royal party went to visit *Khawāja Rēg-rawān*, the site of the moving sand, and there the princes engaged in wrestling-bouts. Humāyūn wrestled with Imām Qulī Qūrcī, and Mīrzā Hindāl with his cousin Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir. After that they went to *Khawāja Sih Yārān*, the Place of the Three Friends (Jarrett's *Āin* II, 409 n), to admire the *arghawān* tree blossoms of the *Dāman-i-kōh*. About this time *Caghatāi Sultān* who was a Mughul prince of great promise and an universal favourite died, and one Mīr Amānī made a pretty chronogram about him. After describing him as a rose and saying that in the season of the rose he meditated a journey, the verses wind up thus:—

“I sought the date from the bereaved nightingale and she said weeping, the rose has gone out of the garden” (*gul az bāgh bīrūn shud*). Here if we take 50, the numerical value of *gul*, from 1003, the value of *bāgh*, we get the date 953.⁴ With this, Bāyazīd ends the first chapter of his memoirs.

The next opens with an account of the trial and execution of Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir which took place in the end of 953, (January 1547). It seems that a regular indictment was preferred, consisting of nearly thirty articles. One of them went as far back as the taking of *Cāmpānīr* in 1535 and was as follows:—“On the taking of the Fort of *Cāmpānīr* we (Humāyūn) had come into the treasury and had commanded that no one, unless sent for, should come to the treasury-door, but you came without orders and sent your respects through a *bakāwal* (Steward) who had brought us a special dish of soup. We left coins of all sorts on the tray and sent soup to you, and you had

¹ Perhaps *tasbī'* making a seven fold copy.

² A native of Tabrīz which may account for Bahrām's attachment to his poetry. He was a mystic poet and died 837 A.H. or 1434 near Harāt. There is a good account of him in Beale's *Oriental Dictionary*, but the date of his death there given seems wrong.

³ See Professor Browne on the *Ḥanafī* sect in *J. R. A. S.*, January, 1898, pp. 62 and 67. Nasīmī was put to death for heterodoxy at Aleppo in 820 (1417). Nasīm is a district near Baghdād. The poet's real name was Saiyid 'Imādu-d-dīn. See Rieu's *Catalogue of Turkish MSS.* 165a.

⁴ Badāōnī has a similar chronogram on the death of Bairām. Lowe's translation, p. 41.

the audacity to lift off a *Muzaffarī* (a silver coin) from it and to make over the tray¹ and all its contents to the *bakāwal*. This was disrespect according to the imperial constitutions (*tūra*).” Another was of a more serious nature, *viz.*, that he had conspired with *Shāh Husain* of *Sind* against *Humāyūn*, and that so *Humāyūn* had been driven to take refuge in *Persia*. *Yādgār Nāṣir* was found guilty and *Muḥammad ‘Alī Taghāi* (apparently *Humāyūn*’s mother’s brother), the governor of *Kābul*, was ordered to put him to death. But he refused, saying that he had never killed a sparrow, how then could he kill Prince *Yādgār Nāṣir*. *Mun‘im Bēg* suggested the employment of *Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī*, and he the same night had the *Mīrzā* strangled with a bow-string. *Yādgār* was buried in front of the citadel gate, but his body was afterwards exhumed and interred beside his father in *Ghaznī*. Some time after this, *Humāyūn*, we are told, had a drinking party and when he got up was so unsteady that his foot slipped. His butler expressed sorrow that his master should take anything that could reduce him to such a state, and *Humāyūn* accepting the rebuke, vowed that he would never touch intoxicating drinks again. We are told that he kept his vow for the rest of his life. He also sent for the grave seigniors who had been his boon companions and told them that it should not have been left to his butler to warn him against evil courses. He now resolved to go to *Badakhshān* in order to coerce *Mīrzā Sulaimān* who had failed to present himself at *Kābul*. On the way he punished some men who had offended him. One of them, *Mastī Firāq*, he ordered to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. The man cried out that he had the holy *Koran* under his arm, and that they should first take this away in order that it might not be damaged. Search having been made, it was found under his armpit, and his piety was rewarded by a pardon. In *Badakhshān* *Humāyūn* fell dangerously ill and when he recovered found that *Kāmrān* had taken advantage of his illness to resume possession of *Kabul*. *Humāyūn* hurried back and succeeded in driving out *Kāmrān* for the second time. The latter fled to the north and was afterwards besieged in *Tālīqān* (in *Badakhshān*) by *Humāyūn*. After a while he had to surrender and applied to his brother for leave to go to *Mecca*. *Humāyūn* was, however, too soft-hearted to insist on such an abdication and so recalled *Kāmrān* after he had gone a little way on his journey, and had an interview with him at *Tālīqān*. *Bāyazīd* gives a full and curious account of the ceremonies with which *Kāmrān* was

¹ Probably the tray (*khwān*) here meant is that containing the food or soup, and the insolence consisted in the rejection of what the king had sent, and in making over the coins to a servant.

received, and describes the entertainment which followed. There is also a description of this meeting in Princess Gulbadan's Memoirs. One story which Bāyazīd tells is about a conversation during the festival between Ḥusain Qulī Sultān, the keeper of the seal, and Kāmrān. There was various discourse, he says, and Ḥusain Qulī told Kāmrān it was reported that at a meeting held by 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān, the question had been put whether a man who had not in his heart hatred to 'Alī as big as an orange, could be called a Musulmān; that afterwards this subject had been brought up again in a meeting at which Kāmrān was present and that Kāmrān was reported to have remarked that it behoved a servant of God to have such a hatred as big as a pumpkin. Kāmrān was indignant at Ḥusain Qulī's remarks and asked him if he took him for a heretic. To this the other replied that he was only repeating what he had heard, and that the recital of an infidel's language did not make the repeater an infidel. As the Uzbaks were strong Sunnīs it is not unlikely that the question was really put, and as Kāmrān was a Sunnī or at least was desirous of pleasing the Sunnīs and had married into an Uzbek family it is likely enough that he improved upon the question in the manner stated. This story is one of those which Abū'l-faḍl has borrowed from Bāyazīd.¹

The entertainment lasted for three days and was followed by a council meeting in which the propriety of making an attack on Balkh was discussed. It does not appear that Kāmrān was present at this council, or that he was invited to express his opinion about the expedition. Very probably he was not asked for he himself had been a suppliant to the ruler of Balkh and had obtained some assistance from him in his contests with his brother.

It is suggested by Erskine that the help which the Uzbek chief had given to Kāmrān was one of the motives for the attack on Balkh. There was considerable difference of opinion among the councillors, and in the end it was resolved that they should all march south to Nāran where the roads to Balkh and Kābul separated and that they should there decide what they should do. On the way Humāyūn turned off to visit the fountain of Band Kushā near Ishkamish (in Badakhshān and E.-S.-E. of Kundūz. On the map there is a place marked Cashma (spring or of fountain) about 7 miles N. E. of Ishkamish). There he sent for the blacksmiths and bade them prepare an iron pen, saying that when his Majesty his father Bābar returned

¹ It is also told by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in his Memoirs. See Teufel's paper in Z. D. M. G. and Paul Horn's trs. Strassburg 1892, p. 37. But Mr. Horn has erroneously made the orange a pomegranate. See Text, Z. D. M. G., Vol. 46, p. 59b.

from Samarqand, he had written the date and the number of his companions, and that it was proper he should make a similar record. So he engraved the date, &c., with his own blessed hand. Abū'l-faẓl¹ also tells this story, (*Akbarnāma* I, 282), and says that the occasion of Bābar's putting up the inscription was the submission to him of his brothers, Khān Mirzā and Jahāngīr. It was, he says, in accordance with this precedent that Humāyūn engraved the inscription, for his brothers, Kāmṛān and 'Askarī, had just been reconciled to him and performed homage. But I have been unable to find the passage in Bābar's Memoirs. At p. 101 of these Memoirs Bābar records the cutting of an inscription near a spring, but this was in the neighbourhood of Farghāna, and again at p. 233 there is a reference to the cutting of an inscription, but this too is not the Ishkamish one. If Abū'l-faẓl's statement is correct, he must, I think, have got it from some other source than the Memoirs.

It does not appear that there was any fresh discussion at Nāran about going to Balkh, it having already been decided apparently that the expedition should not take place that year. At Nāran therefore the brothers separated, and Kāmṛān received Kūlāb as his fief. Humāyūn went on to Parīān where he repaired the fort constructed by his ancestor Tīmūr. From Parīān he paid a visit to some silver mines. He sent for miners and had an experimental working made but found that the produce would not repay the cost of excavation. After this he resumed his march to Kābul, and on coming to the Ush̄tarkarām (?) pass he lost his way. The servants who were ahead went to find out the road but could not. At last a man was seen going along on foot. He was hailed and asked his name (p. 41b). "A servant of God," he replied. "We are all servants of God," rejoined Humāyūn, "tell us your real name." My name is "Khāk" (earth), replied the man. Humāyūn on this said, "What is your proper name? what sense is there in the word khāk?" He then replied, "Then call me what you like." Humāyūn who had been already put out by losing his road, now got very angry and said, "Shall I call you a kite or a muck-rake (*Gūh dalāl*)?" "During the five or six years," says Bāyazīd, "that I had been in attendance on him, I had never seen him so put out before." After this colloquy the man became their guide and brought them to the village of Ush̄tarkarām. Humāyūn spent the following winter in Kābul and then set out early in the spring of 1549 on the expedition against Balkh.

¹ The visit of the four brothers to the fountains is also mentioned by Jauhar, Stewart, p. 92.

It is strange what a fascination Central Asia seems to have possessed for Bābar and his descendants. We find Bābar spending the best years of his life in fruitless attempts to regain possession of Farghāna and to establish himself in Samarqand, and now we find his sons engaged in the same bootless warfare, and neglecting the far more promising field of India. A war against the Uzbaks seems to have been to this family what a campaign against the Persians was to the Greeks, or a crusade to the European nations in the Middle Ages. Humāyūn made his attack in company with his brother Hindāl and his cousin Sulaimān. Kāmrān and 'Askarī sent word that they would come, but they failed to put in an appearance. Kāmrān indeed took advantage of Humāyūn's absence on this expedition to capture Kābul for the second time.

We are told by Bāyazīd, (p. 94*b*), that Sulaimān of Badakhshān fought 72 battles with the Uzbaks, and was always successful, but if so he was the only Timūride who ever got the better of them. And he too eventually found that the Uzbaks were too strong for him, for he lost his son Mirzā Ibrāhīm, who was made prisoner by the Uzbaks in one of his father's expeditions and was taken to Balkh and put to death there. And Sulaimān himself was eventually driven out of Badakhshān in his old age and forced to take refuge with Akbar. Where Bābar had failed, even with the powerful help of the king of Persia, it was not likely that his unstable son Humāyūn should succeed. His campaign against Balkh ended in disastrous failure, and his sufferings during the retreat remind us of those experienced by his father when he fled from Samarqand after having been driven out by Shajbānī Khān. Bāyazīd was present in the campaign and was now a direct servant of Humāyūn, having begun his career as a servant of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Aubāh, the king's butler, and having afterwards served Ḥusain Qulī, the keeper of the seal.

As Humāyūn was marching towards Aibak, one of his followers shot a leopard. The seal-bearer remarked that this was a bad omen, and cited the instance of the Uzbaks who on account of a similar occurrence had once put off an expedition to Khurāsān. But Humāyūn got over the argument by observing that the Uzbaks were his enemies and that so what was a bad sign for them was a good one for him. Aibak was taken after a short resistance and Khwāja Bāgh, the guardian of Pīr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, was made prisoner. Humāyūn took the singular step of asking the Khwāja how he should proceed in order to be successful in his expedition against Balkh. The Khwāja naturally replied that he was an enemy and so his opinion should not be taken, but Humāyūn persisted, saying, that the Uzbaks were honest men and

would tell the truth, and that the Khwāja was the most honest of his countrymen. On this Khwāja Bāgh gave him the disinterested advice to cut off the heads of all his prisoners including himself. Humāyūn's answer was that they were all Musulmāns and that he could not put to death so many of his co-religionists. The Khwāja then proposed a treaty with Pīr Muḥammad, but Humāyūn also rejected this suggestion. He then continued his march *viā* Khulm to Balkh. At first his enterprise seemed likely to be successful, but his soldiers got discouraged by the continued absence of Kāmran and apprehended that Kāmran would attack Kābul in their absence, and get possession of their families who had been left behind in that city. So when victory was apparently within their grasp the invaders retreated southwards to Dera Gaz. The attempt to execute a change of position in the face of an enemy had the same disastrous effect that followed a similar manœuvre before the battle of Qanauj. The retreat became a flight, and Humāyūn had much difficulty in effecting his escape. The hardships he encountered on the way back to Kābul are minutely described by Bāyazīd, but he has not the descriptive power of Bābar or even of Jauhar, and he seems too anxious to magnify his own performances. As Erskine remarks in his MS. translation, (p. 47), Bāyazīd is much the hero of his own tale. One extract, p. 49*b*, may however be given.

“When we came to the foot of the Sih Paj Pass, which is one of the passes in the Hindū Kush, his Majesty halted and said that for some days he had not slept. He then laid his blessed head on Mādar¹ Sultān's knees and told him to sing him to sleep by repeating anything he knew. Mādar begged that Bāyazīd might be ordered to join his voice, and Bāyazīd did so. As his Majesty had represented that he was hungry, Bāyazīd endeavoured to get him some food. There was a shield which had been cast aside as out of repair. It had a steel boss and Bāyazīd made ready on it some horse-flesh and a stew and presented it to his Majesty when he awoke. He partook of it and often said afterwards in Kābul that he had never eaten anything so delicious as that dish (*āsh*).” Humāyūn returned to Kābul on 1st Ramazān, 956, (23rd September, 1549), in time to save the city from being taken by Kāmran. With this event Bāyazīd concludes the second chapter of his Memoirs.

The third chapter begins with an account of the defeat of Humāyūn by Kāmran in the Qipcāq Valley. Humāyūn was wounded in this engagement and had to retire to the hills, while Kāmran followed

¹ Erskine renders this “mother of Sultān,” but it is hardly likely that any women were with the party.

up his success by taking Kābul which now fell into his possession for the third time.

The next event recorded is the negotiation for Humāyūn's marriage with Shāhzāda Khānam, the daughter of Mīrzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān. The story is told at wearisome length, the only interest in it being the revelation of the haughty and masterful character of Hāram (or Khānam) Bēgam, the wife of Sulaimān. She was indignant that persons of such inferior rank as Khawāja Jalālu-d-din and Bibi Fāṭima should be sent to demand the hand of her daughter, and tauntingly told Fāṭima that her business in Kābul was the enticing away of men's daughters. "Did you think of getting my daughter in that way?" she said. "Why has none of the Bēgams or Āghācas come; if my daughter's name is not great, the reputation of his Majesty the king is great." Hāram became mollified after a while and sent a message to Humāyūn that she would be proud to give him her daughter if he came for her. Presumably the marriage never took place for we hear no more of it, and the fact that Hāram's son Ibrāhīm was afterwards married to Humāyūn's daughter, Bakhshī Bānū, would surely prevent a marriage between Humāyūn and Ibrāhīm's sister. Hāram in her message to Humāyūn spoke of his traversing the defiles of the Hindū Kush and this leads Bāyazīd to observe (p. 59a) that the name of these mountains was changed to Hindū Kōh by Akbar in 994, (1586), because he perceived that the range extended from the limits of Bengal to the borders of Tabrīz, and because the shrines of Tabrīz saints are to be found on its slopes.¹

After this comes the account of the night attack by Kāmrān on Humāyūn's camp and the death of Mīrzā Hindāl. Bāyazīd records the cynical remark made by Mun'im Khān upon this event. Coming up to Humāyūn, he inquired why he was weeping. "Because I have heard that Mīrzā Hindāl has been martyred," replied Humāyūn. "You lament your own good," said Mun'im, "you have one enemy less." Upon this his Majesty stinted his tears. Hindāl's death took place in 958, (1551), and the word "Shabkhūn," (night attack) gives the chronogram. Here Bāyazīd digresses to tell a story about Akbar, belonging to this year. The young prince was having his lessons with the son of Mullā Hisāmu-d-dīn, a famous doctor of Samarqand, in a tent in his mother's

¹ Bāyazīd adds a "God knows," to this rather unintelligible explanation. There are Tombs of Tabrīz Saints in India, *e. g.*, of Jalālu-d-din at Pandūa, in the Maldā district. Akbar may have thought of him because his own name was Jalālu-d-din and may have thought that by calling the range Hindū-Kōh he was grounding a claim to it. At all events, this fact that he invented the name Hindū-kōh is interesting.

garden. Mun'im came there to pay his respects, and the child put up his foster-brother, Adham Kōka to ask for a holiday. Mun'im made the desired request to the teacher, and as he was then prime minister and all-powerful, the tutor at once gave Akbar his liberty. This came to Humāyūn's ears and next day when Shamsu-d-dīn Atka brought Akbar to salute his father, Humāyūn observed to the child, "Yesterday you got Hājī Muḥammad Sultān to ask your teacher to set you free, do not such a thing again." When the prince had gone back to his school, Humāyūn turned to Mun'im Khān and said "I heard that you got him the holiday, but I mentioned the name of Hājī Muḥammad to my son because he is yet young and possibly it might remain in his heart 'Mun'im Khān got me a holiday, and then told the king' and this might lead to your harm some day when I am no longer here. As for Hājī Muḥammad, he is a man without any decency and so deserves any harm that may come to him."

Bāyazīd adds that he heard this story in Jaunpūr in 978 (1570-71) when Mun'im Khān was Khān-khānān.

Bāyazīd describes the blinding of Kāmran but he was not present on the occasion and his narrative is by no means so detailed as that of Jauhar: He, however, gives a most affecting description of the interview between the two brothers afterwards when they met at midnight, and the blind Kāmran was led out as far as the tent-ropes to meet Humāyūn. But it has been so well translated in Erskine's History (II, 416), that it is unnecessary to repeat the account. I shall only remark that what Kāmran said to the bystanders after acknowledging that his misfortunes were due to his own fault is somewhat different in Bāyazīd from Mr. Erskine's rendering. According to the latter, Kāmran said, "If it be known that his Majesty has shown favour to me, let it also be known how little I have deserved it." Apparently what Kāmran said was, (Bāyazīd 64b) "If people consider that his Majesty has dealt kindly by me, I attest the fact." (*man sijil kardam*). Mun'im Khān was now appointed guardian of Akbar. He took him to Jūi Shāhī, which is the old name of Jalālābād. The Jalālābād fort was built by Mun'im Khān and received its name in compliment to Akbar, (one of whose names was Jalālu-d-dīn), and who got Jūi Shāhī as his appanage in succession to his uncle Hindāl, whose daughter also he married. Bāyazīd gives the chronogram of the building of Jalālābād, which also served, with the addition of one letter, for the date of the building of the Jaunpūr bridge ten years later. One Qāsim Arslān was the composer of the chronograms but they do not seem to be correctly given in the MS. Apparently they should run *Bānīy-i-ō ān Mun'im Khān*, and *Bānīy-i-ō īn Mun'im Khān* which would give respectively 972 and 982.

Bāyazīd was now in the service of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Aubah, as his *sāmān* or butler and he relates how Jalālu-d-dīn sent him from Kābul to Jalālābād with a quantity of ice, grapes, *riwāj*, lemonade and sugar-candy, as a present to Akbar. In spite of the heat of Jalālābād, he says, the ice arrived intact as the box had bran in it and was wrapt in felt. Akbar was highly delighted with the ice, ate a portion, and had some put into his water bottle, and also distributed it to his officers. He then questioned Bāyazīd about public affairs. Bāyazīd had brought a letter from Jalālu-d-dīn in which he asked where Akbar would take up his quarters when he came to Kābul. Akbar asked Bāyazīd what season it was in Kābul, and when he replied that the white roses were in bloom in the *Shāh Ārāi* garden, Akbar ordered that his dinner should be prepared in that place. Afterwards Akbar proceeded to the *Bāgh Wafā* at Adānīpur, which was a famous garden made by his grandfather, and again questioned Bāyazīd about public affairs, and about Balkh and Samarqand. He wrote a reply to Jalālu-d-dīn and Bāyazīd went off in the evening with it to Kābul. He travelled with great expedition for he arrived next day on the *Shab-i-barāt*, (6th August, 1552), before the people had lighted up for the festival. This was good going as the distance (from Adānīpur) is about 180 miles and he tells us that old soldiers were astonished at his coming so quickly. He was alone too, and the roads were bad. He now gives a cook's chronicle of how he prepared dinner for Akbar in the *Awarta Bāgh* (? middle garden) and how Akbar arrived next day at noon and was regaled by him with pheasants' wings (*qūl-i-qairgha*) and how the prince sent the remainder of the birds to the Bēgams.

At p. 69*b*. Bāyazīd incidentally mentions that Mun'im Khān's father, Mīram Bēg, was guardian of Mīrzā 'Askarī, and had charge of Qandahār, and that on the occasion of an attack by the Hazāras he sacrificed his own life in order to let the prince escape. This is a valuable supplement to Blochmann's account of Mun'im Khān which says (p. 317) that nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of Mun'im's father, Mīram (or Bairām) Bēg.

At p. 72*a* we have it recorded that in the spring of 960, (1553), two sons were born to Humāyūn in one month. One was Muḥammad Hakīm, who was afterwards ruler of Kābul, and whose mother was Cūcak Bēgam, and the other was Muḥammad Farkh Fāl whose mother was Khānish, the daughter of Cacaq Mīrzā of Khwārizm, but who only survived for a few days.

The fourth chapter of the *Memoirs* commences with a very full list of the officers who accompanied Humāyūn, Akbar, and Bairām to India.

From p. 77*b* we learn that Bāyazīd left without notice the service of Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn on account of some injury which he received from the Khwāja's brother. He went to Bangash where 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī was, whom he had known in his childhood at Tabrīz, but eventually he proceeded to Kābul and became the servant of Mun'im Khān. The brother of the Khwāja here referred to was Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd who was afterwards put to death along with his elder brother,¹ by Mun'im Khān. See *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā* I. 617.

For several pages after this the Memoirs are occupied with an account of the siege of Kābul by Sulaimān Mirzā of Badakhshān, and his son Ibrāhīm. It seems that on Humāyūn's death Sulaimān considered that as the oldest member of the great Tīmūr's family he was entitled to a share in Humāyūn's dominions. Bāyazīd, according to his own account, took a prominent part in repelling the attack, and was wounded by an arrow. Sulaimān did not take the town, but a compromise was made whereby his *Imām* was allowed to read the *khutba* in his name for one day in Kābul.²

At p. 87*b* we are told that Mun'im Khān came out of Kābul as soon as the siege was over and proceeded towards Bāgh-dih-afghānān. On the way—in front of the royal baths—he met Khwāja Mirakī, the *dīwān* of Maryam-makānī, who had stayed outside during the siege and had sided with Mirzā Sulaimān. Mun'im at once had him pulled off his horse and hanged at the door (*īshak*) of a costermonger's shop. The interest of this entry lies in the fact that Khwāja Mirakī was the grandfather of Nizāmu-d-dīn the historian.

P. 88*a* tells that Sultān 'Ādilī, the successor of Sikandar, died near Allāhābād, and that the famous Hēmū vowed to God that if he defeated the Mughuls he would become a Musulmān. On the next page Bāyazīd expresses his satisfaction that God erased from the infidel's heart the recollection of this vow after he had defeated Tardī Bēg. As the glory of Tīmūr, he says, had descended to Humāyūn, and then been transferred to Akbar, God, on the field of Pānīpat, put forgetfulness of his vow into Hēmū's heart. The same page describes how Bairām Khān put Tardī Bēg to death. He had an old grudge against him, and used his defeat by Hēmū as a pretext for assassinating him. He sent for him, we are told, to his own house, then left the room on pretence of a necessary purpose, and sent in men who put Tardī Bēg to death on the carpeted floor of the *dīwānkhāna*. A few pages further on (92*a*) we are told that the reason for Bairām's dislike of Tardī Bēg

¹ Blochmann calls him the son of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, 384.

² The account by Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V, 249, may be compared with this.

was that when they were in India together before Humāyūn's expulsion, Bairām, then only Bairām Bēg and the *Muhrdār* (seal-keeper), had wanted to sit on the same carpet (*zūlca*) with Tardī Bēg who was at that time governor of Etāwā, and that the latter had refused to make room for him.

Hēmū's head was sent to Mun'im Khān in Afghānistān (at Qūruqsāi) and he sent it on to Bāyazīd at Kābul with instructions to place it over the Iron Gate, and to have the drums of rejoicing beaten. It was 3 or 4 hours of the night when the head arrived and Bāyazīd at once went up to the citadel to give the good news to the Bēgams. They sent out a number of their servants to inquire how it was certain that it really was Hēmū's head, to which Bāyazīd replied by sending them Mun'im Khān's letter to read.

P. 90*a* tells of Bāyazīd's being sent for and reproved by Maryam-makāni's orders for not clearing out a house for a servant of hers. He pleaded Mun'im Khān's commands and was forgiven. On this occasion Māh Cacak Khalifa acted as interpreter or perhaps as go-between. After this the Bēgams, including Salīma Sultān and Bika Bēgam went off to India.

P. 93*a* mentions that Hāram Bēgam, the masterful wife of Sulaimān, left Badakhshān on account of some disagreement and came to Kābul. Her husband went to Mun'im begging him to induce her to return. He was successful and Bāyazīd escorted her a part of the way back.

P. 95*a* records the death of Mirzā Ibrāhīm, son of M. Sulaimān. He and his father, who had been in 72 fights with the Uzbaks and had always been successful, went against Balkh, but this time Ibrāhīm got separated from his father, was taken prisoner and put to death. The date was 966.

P. 98*a* describes a visit paid by Mun'im Khān and other grandees of the Court to the shrine of Khawāja Qutbu-d-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī on the occasion of the saint's anniversary. The shrine was in old Dihlī, *i.e.*, near the Qutb, which according to some, derives its name from the saint. Qutbu-d-dīn Kākī was from Ūsh in Farghāna, which perhaps accounts for his popularity with Bābar's descendants, and his anniversary, *i.e.*, the day of his death, is the 27th November. There is a long account of him by Firishta at the end of his history and Abū'l-fazl has also a paragraph about him, (Jarrett III, 363). Bāyazīd's elder brother, the saint and poet Bahrām Saqqā, was living in New Dihlī in the cell of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya near Humāyūn's tomb, but he too went off to the "Ūras" in the discharge of his self-imposed duty of water-carrying. On his way back he got a fresh attack of

jazaba, (attraction), and was insensible for several hours. Bāyazīd here refers again to his brother's poetry and gives three specimens of it. He says that his brother took to writing verse at the order of Shāh Qāsim Anwar who appeared to him in a dream at Samarqand.

P. 99a. Afzal Khān asked Bāyazīd to try and procure the release of Bairām Khān's *dīwān* Muẓaffar 'Alī Tarbatī who was imprisoned in the house of Darvēsh Muḥammad Khān Uzbek. Bāyazīd mentioned the matter to his master, Mun'im Khān who bade Bāyazīd remind him of the request when he went to Court. Next day when the Khān-khānān (Mūn'im) was in the house of Māham Bēgha, Bāyazīd gave him a reminder. Māham was present and observed that the matter was not of such great importance, and that it was only necessary to send some one to Darwesh Uzbek's house to release Muẓaffar. The Khān-khānān, however, said that his Majesty must first be consulted, whereon Māham volunteered to mention the matter. While they were talking, Akbar came in from the chase, and after borrowing a needle from Takhta, the mother of Dastam Khān,¹ proceeded to extract the thorns, which had got into his feet in the jungle. Māham represented Muẓaffar's case and his Majesty granted the prayer and added that Muẓaffar was reported to be able to write *tughhrā* and that the Khān-khānān might, if he liked, take him into his employment. Akbar, we are told, was highly pleased with the Khān-khānān for not acting in even such a small matter as the release of Muẓaffar without consulting him.

In pp. 100-101 we have a description of a game of cards at which Akbar was present. Bāyazīd played the game on board a boat with Muqīm Qara. Bāyazīd won, and as Muqīm had no money to pay his losses, Bāyazīd stopped playing. Thereupon Muqīm had to pledge his *pōstīn* or great coat and to sit playing in the cold. Mr. Erskine remarks that the joke seems to have consisted in Muqīm's suffering from the cold. At 101b we are told of Māham Bēgha's kindness to the author and of her giving him a house in Agra. There was a *nīm* tree in the grounds and Bahrām Saqqā, his brother, got him to put up a *saqqī-khānā* or water-house under it. Darvēsh Nazīr, one of the Saqqā's disciples, put up a *saqqī-khānā* at the Fort Gate, and when Akbar rode out he used to take a drink, and also used to listen to recitations from the Saqqā's *Dīwān*.

P. 102a tells a story about Akbar's sending for eighteen rupees of which the only point seems to be the exhibition of Māham Anaga or Bēgha as a sort of centre of affairs. Akbar sent a eunuch to Khwāja Jahān for the money. He and other officers were in attendance on Māham Bēgha, and he peevishly said to the messenger "from

¹ Blochmann, 398.

whose *jāgīr* shall I take it?" Māham got over the difficulty by telling Takhlā, the mother of Dastam, to fetch the money from her Turkish waiting woman. Akbar was at this time, (968, 1561), devoted to the amusement of cock-fighting and in connection with this we are told a story about Shamsu-d-din Atka. This again is prefaced by a reference to Akbar's¹ orders that every one should shave their beards. Shamsu-d-din's beard (or perhaps his hair) was not long but still he had not cut it in accordance with the royal orders which he had only received when on his way from the Pānjāb. Akbar remarked upon this, and Shamsu-d-din replied by way of jest, that his hair had been longish but that when he came to Muttra, he had had it cut after the fashion of the Hindūs of that place. The courtiers applauded the joke, the point of which was its allusion to Akbar's Hindū proclivities. At this time it was the custom that every one who came to pay his respects, should bring a game-cock and Akbar told Shamsu-d-din that he must do the same. Next day Shamsu-d-din appeared, but without a game-cock. When however Akbar noticed this Shamsu-d-din replied that he had one. "Where?" said Akbar, and Shamsu-d-din answered "under my arm." Akbar signed to the attendants to search if this was so, and when they did so the bird set up a crow. Akbar now ordered a certain cock of his to be brought. "Let it be a fighting one," remarked Shamsu-d-din, "for mine is famous in Lāhor." When the royal game-cock was brought, Shamsu-d-din uncovered his and it was found to be a hen bird (*Mākīyān*). The two birds, the cock and the hen, fought and Akbar was greatly delighted.

In the end of 968, (August 1561), there was a hurricane (*jikar*, dust-storm, Vullers *s.v.*) in Agra and the bridge of boats was broken. A fire too broke out in the carpet-house (*farāsh-khana*) of Māham Bēgha, and some of Akbar's dancing girls who lodged near it were burnt. The Khān-khānān went to condole with Akbar who seemingly was cynical enough to say that the burning of the girls was a small matter (*sahl ast*) and that they should go and console Māham for the loss of her property. This is followed by a story of how Akbar was unable to get his horse across the river owing to one of the pontoons having got detached, and how Bāyazīd, who is rather fond of blowing his own trumpet, contrived to make the horse jump across the gap.

P. 104a describes an entertainment given by the Khān-khānān when the guests took opium and also "coloured their teeth," (*dandān*

¹ See Blochmann, 193 and Badāonī II. 303. But Bāyazīd's phrase is *ḥukm-i-mūy-i-sar guzāsh-tan* and perhaps this means to leave the hair loose.

rang kardand). Erskine supposes (in his translation) that this is a euphemism for drinking wine. It may also refer to the eating of betel or to smoking. Evidently it was something unusual or improper, for Bāyazīd excuses himself for joining in the teeth-colouring by saying that he always tried to go in for good fellowship.

P. 105*a* records that Bāyazīd got the title of Sultān from Akbar.

P. 105*b* describes the assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn by Adham Khān. When Akbar was roused by the noise and came and saw the body and Adham, he called the latter *kāndū*, (filth), or perhaps *gāṇḍū*, (sodomite), and struck him a blow on the ear and stunned him. (According to Abu'l-faḍl the expression used by Akbar was "son of a bitch"). After putting Adham to death, Akbar went to Māham's house and said to her "Māmā, we have killed Adham." Shortly afterwards he put his uncle, Khawāja Mu'azzam to death for murdering his wife. A few days later Akbar had a conversation with the Khān-khānān, and asked him what the people said of his reign. The Khān-khānān replied, "My king, (may you live 120 years!) the people love you and admire your perfect justice in killing Adham Khān for the murder of the Atka, and in putting to death Mu'azzam Sultān for murdering the daughter of Bibi Fāṭima." His Majesty rejoined, "I have done something better than this; it is strange that you don't mention it, but you know it all the same, though from certain considerations you don't refer to it." "What thing is it," said the Khān Khānān, "that I know and from certain considerations do not speak of?" Akbar replied, "What I have done better is this, that I have brought all the Atka's relations from Lāhor, and have scattered them like the stars of the 'Daughters of the Bear,'¹ giving them fiefs all over Hindūstān."²

The Memoirs now become rather tedious and uninteresting, though here and there we can glean valuable information.

At p. 108*b*, we have a reference to one Jabār Bardī Bēg who had served under Bābar and had for many years been a *darwēsh* and had settled in Badakhshān. He was now returning thither after visiting the tomb of Humāyūn. Many pages are taken up with an account of Mun'im Khān's return to Kābul and his defeat at Jalālābād. At p. 117*b*,

¹ The expression is *dar rang-i-banātu-n-na'sh parīshān kardā haryakrā bahar gōsha-i-Hindūstān jāgīr farmāda im*. *Bīnātu-n-na'sh* is the Arabic name for the constellation of the Great Bear whose stars stand apart and are not clustered like those of the Pleiades.

² Probably Akbar thought that Mun'im did not refer to this act of justice or generosity because there was an old quarrel between Mun'im and the Atka and it was even supposed that Mun'im was the instigator of the murder. See Blochmann, p. 321.

there is a reference to one Mirzā Shāh, the son of Jānnat-āshiyānī. However this is not Humāyūn but a prince of the Deccan. There is a long account of Abū-l-māilī. This man killed his mother-in-law, Māham Cūcak, the wife of Humāyūn and mother of Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He was afterwards made prisoner by Sulaimān and put to death by Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

P. 122*b* speaks of a woman named Āghā Sarw-qad (cypress-form) who was formerly in the harem of Bābar and was now apparently the wife or mistress of Mun'im Khān. She came from Khān Zamān's camp to Mun'im's in the capacity of a spy or go-between.

P. 124*b*. We read of Akbar's hunting elephants near Cunār, just as his grandfather had done.

P. 128*b*. Bāyazīd repairs a *ṣaffa* or portico in Benares which had been erected by Humāyūn.

P. 130*a* gives an account of one of Akbar's meetings for religious debates. The *mullās* of Rūm (*mullāyān-i-rūm*) are mentioned as having been present, and probably this means Romish priests. One Mirzā Muflis—a kingdom-less prince, and who is said to have been an adept at logic,—was present and was being pressed with a question by 'Abdu-l-lāh Sultānpūrī. His rival Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī was also there, and in his turn propounded a question to the Prince. The latter who had not replied to 'Abdu-l-lāh's question, and was probably posed by it, (see Lowe's Badāonī, 190) seems to have lost his temper and cried to 'Abdu-n-nabī "Slave (*Ghulām-i-kor*)! be a little patient till I have answered the big slave, and then I will answer you." Mirzā Muflis, (to whom there is a reference in Blochmann, 541), went to Mecca and died there in 989, (1581), and Bāyazīd witnessed his interment.

P. 131*a*. tells of the wonderful feat of a man called Mir Farīdūn, who had some years before swallowed eighty *miṣqāls* of *baras* or *barash* (an intoxicating drug or drink made apparently from Indian hemp) and who now, to please the Khān-khānān and his friends took 140 *miṣqāls* of the stuff. He also drank *Kōknār* (a preparation of opium) instead of water, and yet for several nights remained in company, and acted as if the drugs had no effect on him.

P. 132*a*. Bāyazīd came to grief, very deservedly for destroying a Hindū temple at Benares with pillars bearing an inscription 760 years old. He converted the building into a Madrasa, etc. Rāja Todar Mal was annoyed at this and got the inhabitants to complain against him. The result was that Bāyazīd lost his appointment and was for several years a *darwēsh*. After some years he became Mir Māl or keeper of the Seal (Blochmann VI); and subsequently he was made governor of Cunār.

P. 135*a*. has mention of Rājā Gajpatī, (Blochmann, 399), who is called Rājā of the country of Acīna (اچينا?) and is said to have held the *jāgīr* of Būjpūr and Bihīya, &c., extending over both banks of the Gānges. At that time he was loyal.

P. 147*a*. Gives an account of Mun'im Khān's removing his headquarters from Tānda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangāla), and of the pestilence which broke out there. He says that the nature of the country is such that a pestilence (*wabā*) breaks out there every thirty years (*qarn*) and that on this occasion the plague was assisted by drunkenness (*kaif*). Mun'im Khān was himself a victim, dying there, according to Bāyazīd on the night of Monday, 18 Rajāb 982.¹ On the same night Muẓāffar, the deposed king of Gujrāt, and who afterwards escaped and gave Akbar so much trouble, arrived at Gaur, having been sent there by Bāyazīd from Cunār according to Mun'im's orders. Bāyazīd tells how he himself went afterwards to Gaur and of the difficulty he had in taking charge of Mun'im's property. In this connection he mentions the names of two women, viz., Sēōr (Sarw) Aghā, Mun'im's widow, whom he describes as a reliable woman and one who had been in the harem of Bābar and Humāyūn, and another lady who was the mother of Khwāja Shāh Maṣṣūr, who was Mun'im's *bakhshī*. Bāyazīd said he had no wish after Mun'im's death to remain on active service. He gave up his post of governor of Cunār but held for a time the position of *dārōgha* of the Treasury. In the beginning of 986, (March 1578), he got leave to go to Mecca and left for that place with his wife and children. He was, however, detained for two years in Sūrat on account of a charge of malversation which was brought against him by his enemies. He got over this difficulty and was able to go to Daman, but there he had fresh troubles with the Portuguese and had to pay a heavy ransom before he was allowed to sail. They reached Aden in fourteen days and there a small boat came out to them, which had been sent by Gulbadan Bēgam and other ladies who had been to Mecca and were on their return. Bāyazīd sent the Bēgams news of India, &c. He spent a considerable time in Mecca, and lost his wife and one of his sons there. He buried mother and child in one grave, and occupied it himself for one or two hours *so that it should not be too small or narrow*. He sent his other children home, hoping that he himself should end his days in Mecca and might be laid beside his wife. But he had to return to India in consequence of hearing that his family had been made prisoner by the Portuguese at Daman. He left in 990, (1582), but had to wait long in Mocha harbour for a favourable wind. At last the "olive season" (*mausim-i-zaitūnī*)

¹ It should be 983. The English date is 23rd October, 1575.

came and brought a wind and they were just about to start when a boat called a “*tāwarī*” (see Blochmann, 241) came in from Diu and reported that all Gujrāt was in a blaze owing to the insurrection of Muẓaffar. In this extremity Bāyazīd consoled himself and his friend as they were sitting in the ship’s cabin (*dabūs*) by taking an omen from Ḥāfiẓ, the result of which was to satisfy them that the descendants of Humāyūn would eventually prevail. He was eight months on board ship and after a voyage of two months arrived at the port of Kūda (qr. Gōdhri, or perhaps Ghoga). Bāyazīd was in danger here but ultimately escaped to Sūrat. Apparently Muẓaffar let him go on account of their old acquaintance when Muẓaffar was his prisoner at Cunār. He liked the climate of Sūrat and was willing to stay there but his sons Sa‘ādat Yār and Iftikhār who were in Akbar’s service, wrote to him that the Emperor was expecting him. He therefore waited upon Akbar in Fathpūr Sikrī in the end of 992, (December 1584), and was graciously received, getting a house and the *pargana* of Sanān, for which however he was to pay a rental of 14½ lakhs. Rājā Todar Mal did not like Bāyazīd and tried to screw a higher rental out of him. He got the *pargana* in partnership with his sons, and apparently it was not lucrative.

In 994, (1586), Bāyazīd was raised to the rank of a *manṣab* of 200¹ and next year he was made Steward (*bakāwal*) and chamberlain (*Īshaq Āghā*). But he was soon after attacked with paralysis and had to give up all his appointments. But in 998 he returned to work and was made a Treasury *dārōgha* and *amīn*. In 999 Akbar gave him (probably in consideration of his bodily infirmity) permission to sit in the royal presence, and declared before a number of courtiers that Bāyazīd was an honest man and had served the state for nearly two *qarn*, i.e., for 60 years. The Memoirs were completed on Sunday, 1st Ramazān, 999, (13th June, 1591), and with this statement and some verses the book closes. Previous to this Bāyazīd describes some buildings that he erected at Lāhōr, and gives an account of the distribution of copies of his book.

¹ He must have got further promotion for Abu’l-faẓl, (Blochmann, 501), ranks him among the commanders of 300. Probably this was when he became Bakāwal Bēg in 995.

*The Cāṭēṣvara Inscription of Ananḡa-bhīma II of Orissa.—**By* NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU, *Editor, Viṣvakōṣa.*

[Read August, 1898.]

In my article on the copper-plate grant of Nṛsimha Dēva II. of Orissa, read in May, 1896, in our Society's meeting, I merely alluded to this Inscription, expressing, however, my desire to publish it in full in a later issue. Now, compliant to that promise, I bring in my present article.

This Inscription, which was first noticed in the *Viṣvakōṣa*¹ in 1894, is incised on a stone-slab in the temple of **Cāṭēṣvara** (or *Ṣiva*) at Kisnapur village in the Padmapur Pargana, District Cuttack, and situated nearly 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack and 2 miles to the north of the road from Cuttack to Chandbali. On both sides of this large temple, there are other temples of smaller size dedicated to Kṛṣṇa-Rādhikā and Pārvatī, but these latter from their very appearance and architecture are evidently of a later period than that of **Cāṭēṣvara**. From the resemblance of architecture the temple of **Cāṭēṣvara** may be classed as coeval with other temples, built in several places of Orissa during the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. The whole temple is built uniformly of basalt stone locally called *baul-mālā*. The ornamental beauty and superior workmanship of the architect, are not a little exhibited in the temple, but much of its former beauty is, for want of repair, in gradual decay. The interior of this high temple is all dark, and now affords an unmolested habitation for innumerable bats, through the callous indifference of its votaries. In the sanctum of the temple, there is a deep excavation in which lies the Linga immersed in perpetual waters, save at the time of festivals when the water being drawn out the Linga makes its appearance.

A few people now inhabit the village Kisnapur, and they too, for the most part of them, are *Bhōpas*, i.e., votaries to the God **Cāṭēṣvara**. Formerly the temple of **Cāṭēṣvara** had been vested with a large

¹ See *Viṣvakōṣa*, Vol. VI, p. 229.

dēvōttara property, but the votaries had alienated a great part of it, and consequently the income having greatly deteriorated, no longer are the offerings and ceremonies conducted in their former grand scale. One thousand bighas of land and 300 *bharaṇas* of paddy per year, are all that now exist to defray the expenses of the temple. A considerable sum is added to the income by the gifts from the visitors, during the two festivals of the *Çivarātri* and the lunar *Caturdaçi* of the bright fortnight in the month of *Kārtika*, when a vast concourse of people floods into the place.

The tradition as to the origin of the temple, runs as follows:—

The site, on which the temple of **Cātēṣvara** now stands, was a tank. In the vicinity, a village school-master taught his pupils, in his little *Cātaṣālā*, i.e., school. Mahādēva, the great god, himself came in the guise of a *cāta*, i.e. pupil, and began to learn with other boys. Now, all the other boys had to be harassed much for their school fees, and paid them after several demands made; but Mahādēva, the disguised *cāta* paid even before the first demand. Moreover, he would not be prevailed upon to disclose his parentage even at the injunction of the school-master. Doubts now began to grow deep in the mind of the teacher, as to the identity of this extraordinary boy, and one evening he secretly followed the *cāta*, when returning from the *Cātaṣālā*. Then to his great astonishment the boy came direct to the tank, and to the ecstasy of surprise of the beholding teacher, plunged into the waters and disappeared! The night following, the teacher was visited by Mahādēva in a dream and addressed to the following effect:—"I was hitherto learning of you with a view to reveal my greatness, go and celebrate my name to the world, henceforth I shall be called **Cātēṣvara**, the divine pupil." After this miracle, many came to study there and went out profound scholars. By and by, the fame of the virtue of this place reached the ears of the *Utkala-rāja*, who thereupon, caused the tank to be filled with earth, erected the beautiful temple upon it, established the present *Cātēṣvara-Liṅga* within the temple, and dedicated a vast property towards its maintenance.

In this temple, we find an inscribed slab, bearing the inscription of **Ananga-bhīma II** of Orissa, which forms the subject matter of my present article. On the 7th of November, 1893, I went there with my friend Artatrāṇa Miçra of Maudā, to visit the temple of **Cātēṣvara**. The votaries at our request brought the inscribed slab out of the temple and placed it upon the outer door. The darkness of the night was then fast approaching upon us, and I hurriedly took some rubbings of the inscription in pencil. Subsequently, however, another set of tracing of the same has reached my hand.

The size of this slab is 32.5" × 22". The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ " × $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Inscription is in 25 lines, running through the entire length of the slab leaving a margin only of 1½ inches on all sides. The letters belong to the ancient Bengali type of Kuṭila character, and resemble much the characters of the Mēghēṣvara Inscription published in this Journal for 1897, and those of the Brahmēṣvara Inscription, published in our Society's Journal, by Mr. Prinsep.¹

The Inscription was written by a poet named Bhāskara, the principal object of it being to record the erection of a Śiva temple (of Cāṭēṣvara) by Anaṅga-bhīma II.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit and generally correct.

As regards orthography;—the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; *p*, *y* and *v* are sometimes doubled with the superscript sign *r*, e.g. in lines 2, 3 and 4. A curious mistake is committed in line 16, where *thaddiggajah* is written for *yaddiggajah*.

Opening with the words "Ōm adoration to Śiva," the Inscription first invokes the ocean as the abode of Viṣṇu and the birth-place of the Moon, who adorns the crest of Mahādēva. It then glorifies the family of Cōḍaganga born in the lunar dynasty, and gives the following list of Kings:—(1) Cōḍaganga, (2) his son Anaṅga-bhīma I., (3) his son Rājēndra (Rājarāja), and (4) his son Anaṅga-bhīma II., together with the names of two distinguished ministers, namely Gōvinda of the Vatsa Gōtra and the renowned Viṣṇu, the terrible foe of the Muhammadan ruler Tuṁghāna (Tuḡhril-i-tuḡhān Khān).²

Transcript.

L. 1.

ॐ नमः शिवाय ।

स यस्मिन् मैनाकः स्मरति जनकक्रोडललितं
यदन्तः श्रीकान्तः श्रयति गृहजामातृपदवीं ।
सुरेभ्यस्तन्मथ्ययसनमनुभूय व्यधित य-
स्वधासत्रं सोयञ्जयति सरि-

L. 2.

तामेकसुभगः ॥³ [1]

तस्मादभूद्विस्मयमादधानः

कलानिधिर्विश्वविलोचनानां ।

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, Plate XXIV.

² See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 740–63, and my article on the copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṁha Dēva II., J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, Pt. I, pp. 233–34.

³ Metre : Çikharinī.

यमर्पयामास गुणानुरागा-

नेत्रे मुरारिमुकुटे पुरारिः ॥¹ [2]

भूपास्तस्माद्भूवर्विह्वलमरसमरोदच्चदाश्चर्यवीर्य-
ज्यो-

L. 3. तिर्ज्जालावलीढप्रतिभटकरटिस्थानदानप्रवन्धाः ।

येषाङ्गीर्त्तिप्रवाहैः प्रतिपदमुदयत्स्वर्द्धनीसङ्गसौख्य-

प्रेक्षुत्कल्लोलकेलिः कलयति जलधिस्तानि लीलायितानि ॥² [3]

तेषाम्बंशे विशदयशसा-

L. 4. चोडगङ्गद्वितीन्द्र-

व्याजयत्तं नरहरितनोर्ज्ज्यातिराविर्वेभूव ।

दर्पादामद्विपमदनदीतीर्थसंन्यासिनो य-

न्निस्त्रिंशेन प्रतिनृपतयः प्रापिता मोक्षलक्ष्मीं ॥³ [4]

धम्मिल्लं करपल्लवे कलितवान् प्रागेव वै-

L. 5. रिश्रियः

स्मेरामर्दतरङ्गितेन मनसा निस्त्रिंशवल्लीन्ततः ।

चक्रे वैरिवधूजनस्तनतटीर्या मुक्तमुक्ताः पुरः

पश्चादुद्धरगन्धसिन्धुरमदप्रस्यन्दिगण्डस्थलीः ॥⁴ [5]

यत्कल्लोलितमण्डलाग्रकुटिलाटोपस्क-

L. 6. रत्नाध्वसै-

र्यद्वाणप्रकरप्रहारतरलैः प्रत्यर्थिभिः पार्थिवैः ।

चण्डांशोर्दिवि मण्डलाग्रपटलं निर्भिद्य तन्मन्युना

मन्ये निर्वृतिगर्वितैरनुवृत्तो निर्व्वाणसीमारसः ॥ [6]

आसीत्

L. 7. सूनुरनङ्गभीमनृपतिः पुण्यातपत्रं ततो

न स्पृष्टः कलिकालकल्मषमसौकल्लोललीलायितैः ।

कोयं मन्त्रकलापदुर्भेदकरिव्यूहं विहायासुना

श्रद्धामेकपदे नृपे कलयता साम्राज्यमासादितं ॥⁵ [7]

स्वैरश्रुति-

¹ Metre: Upajāti.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁴ Metre: Ārdūla-vikrīḍita, and of the following verse.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

L. 8. चयगवीभिरुपास्यमानो

गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः ।

राज्ञः क एष महिमा यदसावनेन ।

साम्राज्यभारवहने विदधे धुरीणः ॥¹ [8]

सेवानतप्रतिमहौपतिकेशपाश-

शैवालवलिशिख-

L. 9. रे नखराजहंसाः ।

यत्पादपङ्कजगृहाश्रमिणः स्वपन्ति

राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन ततः क्षितीन्द्रः ॥ [9]

जज्ञेऽसौ तमनङ्गभीमनृपति यस्य प्रतापानलः

ज्वालासंवलितैः सुवर्णशिखरीयातिद्रवत्वं

L. 10. यदि ।

आदायैनमहर्निशं यदि घना मुञ्चन्ति धारौकरा

नाशाः पूरयितुं तथापि विजयी यद्दानकेलिक्रमः ॥² [10]

त्रैलोक्यं विमलीकरोति यदि तत्कीर्त्तिमुंघास्वर्जुनी

कण्ठे चेत् विलुठन्ति

L. 11. तद्भणितयो धिङ्मौक्तिकानां खजः ।

यत् पादाजनखद्युतियतिकरैर्भूषाविधिर्यद्यभूत्

प्रत्यर्थिद्विपतिपालभालफलके कः पट्टवन्धग्रहः ॥ [11]

तस्याथ द्विपतिपालभालवड्भीनिद्रालु-

L. 12. पादाङ्गुले

विष्णुर्विष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान् साचिव्यमव्याहतं ।

श्वेतच्छत्रशतानि यस्य यशसा निर्माय किं व्रूमहे

साम्राज्यं त्रिकलिङ्गनाथनृपतेरेकातपत्रीकृतम् ॥ [12]

ये याताः शरणं

L. 13. रणाङ्गशिरस्सुन्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो

यैर्वा दुर्दमदोर्विलासरसिकैरुत्खातखड्गैः स्थितं ।

आश्चर्यं यदमीदृयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः पदं

प्राप्ता निर्भरनिर्वृतिप्रणयितां प्र-

¹ Metre, Vasanta-tilaka ; and of the next verse.

² Metre, Cārdūla-vikrīḍita ; and of the next five verses.

L. 14. त्वर्थिनः पार्थिवाः ॥ [13]

विन्ध्याद्रेरधिसौमभीमतटिनी कुञ्जे तटेम्भोनिधे-
विष्णुर्विष्णुरसावसाविति भयाच्चैतन्दिशः पश्यतः ।
साम्राज्यं सपरिश्रमेण न तथा वैखानसानामिदं
विश्वं

L. 15. विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्घाणपृथ्वीपतेः ॥ [14]

¹कण्ठोत्तंसितसायकस्य सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः
किं ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्दुसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतं ।
यस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनि-

L. 16. नां व्योमाङ्गनेनाकिना-

मस्वप्नैरनिमेषवृत्तिभिरभून्नेत्रैर्महानुत्सवः ॥ [15]
साहस्राः परितः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेलन्ति यमगजा ²
प्रेङ्खद्भिः पथिपुण्डरीकपटलैर्दिकचक्रमा-

L. 17. क्रम्यते ।

सम्वासः कटकेषु मौलिषु पदन्यासः कुलक्ष्माभृतां
वद्धा यत्र न काचिदुत्कलपतेः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं हृतिः³ ॥ [16]
क्ष्मापीठं कियदम्बरङ्कियदथ स्वः सौधमेतत् कियत्
दिकचक्रं किय-

L. 18. देतदेव कलय ब्रह्माण्डखण्डं कियत् ।

आस्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरणं यत्रेदमामोदते
यत्र रुज्यति यत्र वा निवसति स्वच्छन्दमेतद् यशः⁴ ॥ [17]
तपनतनयामभ्यादत्तेवतंसयितुं शिवः
कुवलयकुल-

L. 19. कण्ठोत्तसेन विभ्रति सुभ्रुवः ।

विचकिलवनोत्सङ्गे भृङ्गीविदनालिनं स्वनं
जगति जनितश्चेताद्वैते तदा यशोभरिः⁵ ॥ [18]
अनेन पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनीषु वारान्निधे-
स्तटीषु घटितास्तुलापु-

¹ Read कर्णे ।

² Read यदिगजा ।

³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ Metre, Gārdūla-vikrīḍita. ⁵ Metre, Harinī.

L. 20.

रुषहेमभूमौभृतः ।

विलासवसतीपूतं कलयता वलारातिना
 शचीवदनवारिजे तरलिताः स्म लोलं दृशः¹ ॥ [19]
 पश्यानं सरसां शतैस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्किता यत्तट-
 स्मेराम्भोजगभीरग-

L. 21.

भकुहरध्वस्ताध्वखेदोर्मयः ।

अन्तःसौरभसारशीकरमयैः पाथेयभारैरमी
 मन्दंमन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पथिकानाम्बोधिवेलानिलाः² ॥ [20]
 आन्वीक्षिकीकुटिलमैक्षत यं कटाक्षै-
 र्यस्य त्रयी वदनताम्र-

L. 22.

रसं चुचुम्ब ।

स्त्रैरं यदीयहृदये विजहार वार्त्ता
 यं दण्डनीतिरपि निर्भरमालिलिङ्ग³ ॥ [21]
 उदग्रदोषादपथप्रवर्त्तन-
 स्खलद्गतीनिश्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः ।
 चकार तत्र प्रतिपत्तिसम्प-

L. 28.

दा-

स्पदं पुराणानि पुनर्नवानि यः⁴ ॥ [22]
 कनककलसभारं भारयामास भास्वा-
 नजनि रजनिजानि स्फाटिकः पूर्णकुम्भः ।
 ध्वजपटचटुलश्रीर्यत्र च व्योमगङ्गा
 विरचितममुनेदं धाम

L. 24.

कामान्तकस्य⁵ ॥ [23]

त्रिभुवनभयशान्तिङ्कर्त्तुमेकार्णवन्त⁶
 झलजयमिव यावत् कुर्वते पर्वतेन्द्राः ।
 सदनमिदमुदञ्चत्फोणपुञ्जप्रतिष्ठा-
 मिह कलयतु तावद्दीयताञ्च प्रशस्तिः ॥ [24]
 लोक-

¹ Metre, Prthvī.⁴ Metre, Vaṇçasthavila.² Metre, Çārdūla-vikriḍita.⁵ Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.³ Metre, Vasanta-tilakā.⁶ Not clear.

L. 25.

स्वतुर्द्शनमाति यशो यदीयं
 विद्यास्वतुर्द्शनं न तप्यति यस्य बुद्धिः ।
 मन्वन्तराण्यपि चतुर्द्शनं यस्य सूक्ति-
 र्न स्नानमेति स कविः किल भास्करोऽस्याः ॥¹ [25]

Translation.

Om! adoration to Īiva!

Verse 1. Hail to the Ocean, the sole lord of all the rivers, where the mount Maināka is enjoying the pleasures of the paternal lap of the Himalayas, where even the lord of Lakṣmī himself lives as a son-in-law in his father-in-law's house, and who has undergone that process of churning as a svadhā sacrifice.²

V. 2. From that ocean was born the moon, the wonder of all eyes, the love for whose virtues procured him a place in the eye of Murāri and on the crest of Purāri.

V. 3. From the moon was born a race of kings, the blazing fire of whose prowess stopped the ruddy streams on the foreheads of the elephants of their adversaries in the field of battle; swelled by the streams of their fame, the sea, heaved up at every moment and thus enjoying the pleasures of the companionship of the heavenly river Mandākinī, still displays those sports in wavy frolics.

V. 4. In the line of these sovereigns of renown, the radiant halo of the person of Narahari incarnated itself as King Cōḍaganga, whose sword used to give deliverance to the hostile kings, when they turned, so to say, Sannyāsins on the banks of the sacred river, which flowed from the oozings of the elephants in fury of war.

V. 5. Who, in the battle-fields, used to clutch with the palm of his hands, first the locks of the goddess of fortune of his adversaries, and then his sword; who first deprived the breasts of the wives of his enemies, of their pearls, and then deprived the temples oozing juice of rut, of the unruly and maddened elephants, of their pearls.

V. 6. When the hostile kings, frightened by the sharpened arrows of the leader of the noisy army obtained deliverance by his arrows it seemed, as if, to avenge their wrongs, these kings proud of their deliverance, were penetrating through the reign of the sun which travels in the sky and which resembled the king in his fiery character.

¹ Metre, Vasanta-tilaka.

² Svadhā means oblation offered to the Pitr̥s or spirits of deceased ancestors.

V. 7. His son was Ananga-bhīma, who remained untouched by the ink-like sea of sin of the Kali-yuga; who obtained possession of the empire not by taking to any conspiracy or a host of elephants but by the mere love of other kings.

V. 8. Gōvinda, who was superior to other Brāhmans, took his birth in the Vātsa Gōtra. The Vēdas voluntarily served him, i.e., he obtained a great proficiency in the study of Vēdas. This is not a great glory on his part, as the king appointed him to bear the burden of the whole empire.

V. 9. From him (sc. Anangā-bhīma) King Rājēndra (i.e. Rājarāja) took his birth, the nail-like swan of whose feet-lotus slept soundly on the moss-bed of locks of those hostile kings, who bowed down to him in submission.

V. 10. Whose son was called Ananga-bhīma, whose bounty triumphs, even if the golden Sumēru be melted by the fire of prowess and the clouds take up the melted gold and rain constantly to drench the quarters and slake the thirst of the needy, those showers of rain can never satisfy, but his bounty always satisfied the desires of all those who received it from him.

V. 11. Whose fame, when it whitens the Heaven, Earth and the Nether worlds, wipes away the glory of the heavenly Ganges which consists in her pure whiteness; whose praises when uttered by the throat makes away with the usefulness of the garland of pearls, the lustre of the nails of whose feet was the crown of hostile kings, who did not any more feel the necessity of wearing a turban on their head.

V. 12. Whose toes slept (like the domesticated birds) on the forehead of kings, which were, as it were, the tops of houses; whose ministry was accepted by Viṣṇu (a Brahmin) who appeared like a second Viṣṇu, whose fame unified the empire of the kings of three Kalingas.

V. 13. Of the hostile kings, they that sought his protection at the very beginning of the combat, without shooting even an arrow, and they that, confident of the overwhelming strength of their mighty hands, raised their swords, it is strange that both these classes of adverse kings obtained, before long, the eternal happiness by gaining the feet of Viṣṇu, i.e., those that died in the field went to heaven and there obtained final emancipation at Viṣṇu's feet, and those that sought protection were very glad to appear before the minister Viṣṇu and at his feet established peace.

V. 14. The Vaikhānasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the Tuṁghāna King (i.e.,

Tughril-i-Tughān Khān), when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the banks of the Bhīmā, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores.

V. 15. What more shall I speak of his heroism ! He alone fought against the Muhammadan King, and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes.

V. 16. Whose innumerable elephants and horses frolicked in all directions ; whose white umbrellas when carried on the roads covered all the quarters ; who lived in *Kaṭaka* and trampled over the heads of the principal kings, wherever any work of the imperial goddess of fortune of the King of Utkala had not made its progress.

V. 17. Think for a moment, how small is the earth to hold his fame, of what extent is the sky to spread his fame ; how small is the vault of heaven again where to give a free scope to it ; how small is the horizon where his fame rests like a garland, and how small is the whole universe to contain his fame.

V. 18. All the universe being whitened by his fame, Mahādēva takes Yamunā (mistaking her for the Ganges) up to adorn his crest, the fair ladies hold the blue water lilies (now white) in their garlands ;

V. 19. On the shores of the sea, which are the favourite of Puruṣōttama, he created several Golden-mountains (Sumēru) by the performance of the *Tulā-puruṣa* gift ; and by erecting there hundreds of comfortable pleasure-houses attracted even Indra's eyes which were fixed at the lotus-like face of Çacī.

V. 20. He constructed several roads with hundreds of ponds, here and there, about them. The sea-breezes coming to these tanks rested for a while on the bed of the blooming lotuses and thereby after refreshing themselves of the fatigue of the journey, and bearing provisions of aqueous particles, fragrant with the sweet scents of the lotuses, floating in them, followed the travellers.

V. 21. Whom Logic saw with side-long looks, whose lotus-like face the Vēdas kissed, at whose heart the news roamed voluntarily ; and whom the doctrine of administration of justice embraced heartily.

V. 22. He, who was rich in reputation, renewed with his clear sight into the Vēdas, all the Purāṇas now destined to be directed in the wrong ways through the gross-blunder of the expounders of them.

V. 23. He built this temple to Çiva the destroyer of Kāma. The sun supports its golden pinnacle, the moon himself is its crystal jar full of water, and the beauty of the banner of its spire is the heavenly river Mandākinī.

V. 24. As long as the principal mountains do heave themselves up the sea, and thereby protect the three worlds, so long do their temple proclaim the fame of its consecration here and sing the eulogy.

V. 25. The poet *Bhāskara* composed this eulogy whose fame could not be measured by the fourteen worlds, whose intellectual powers were not satisfied even with the study of the fourteen branches of learning, and whose pithy sayings are not to be depreciated even in fourteen *manvantaras*.



of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri is widely known in India ; but nothing definite is known about the time of its erection. Touching this point I adduce below some arguments based on recently discovered inscriptions.

The Gangavam̃ṣa copper-plates of Orissa contain the following important passage¹ :—

The date of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri, Orissa.—By BABU MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., Deputy Magistrate, Gaya, Bengal.

[Read August, 1898.]

The great temple of Jagannātha at Puri is widely known in India ; but nothing definite is known about the time of its erection. Touching this point I adduce below some arguments based on recently discovered inscriptions.

The Gangavam̃ṣa copper-plates of Orissa contain the following important passage¹ :—

पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षमखिलं नाभिस्तु सर्वा दिशः
 श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्द्धापि च द्यौरसौ ।
 प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षम-
 स्तस्येत्याद्यन्तपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेथ गङ्गेश्वरः ॥
 लक्ष्मीजन्ममृहं पयोनिधिरसौ संभावितस्य स्थिति-
 ने धाम्नि श्वशुरस्य पूज्यत इति क्षीराब्धिवासाद्भुवं ।
 निर्विस्मः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदितस्तदासलाभाद्रमा-
 प्येतद्भर्तृगृहं वरं पितृगृहात्प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता ॥

Translation :—

“What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a god as Puruṣōttama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon, and whose head that heaven (above)? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gaṅgēṣvara.

“The ocean is the birth-place of Lakṣmī, so thinking in his father-in-law’s house (the ocean) Viṣṇu lodged with some shame, though he

¹ Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. LXIV, (1895), p. 139; Journal, Vol. LXV, (1896), p. 240. This pantheistic idea and even the very similes of the text may be traced as far back as R̥gvēda (X, 90, 13-4).

got full adoration. Thus ashamed, the god Puruṣōttama was glad to get this new house; and Lakṣmī, too, gladly preferred living in her husband's new house to living in her father's house."

This passage shows that—

- (1) a great temple was erected in Orissa dedicated to Puruṣōttama,
- (2) that it was erected by order of Gaṅgēçvara *alias* Cōḍagaṅga, and
- (3) that it was erected on or near the sea-coast.

Puruṣōttama is another name of Jagannātha, whose Kṣēttra and Māhātmya are still called Puruṣōttama-Kṣēttra and Puruṣōttama-Māhātmya. The description thus leaves no doubt that the temple erected by Cōḍagaṅga can be no other than the present temple of Jagannātha.

Cōḍagaṅga, however, ruled long, for nearly seventy years. His anointment (abhiṣēka) took place formally in 999 Çaka (17th February, 1078 A.D.). But he is believed to have practically ruled from two years back, 997 Çaka, so far as the numerous inscriptions quoted in Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report of 1895-96 (particularly those of Mukhalingam) can be relied on. Similarly, if the date of Vajrahasta's accession be taken as 960 Çaka, then Cōḍagaṅga, his grandson, came to the throne in 997 Çaka ($960 + 29 + 8$),² or 1075-6 A.D. Orissa has been specifically described in the inscriptions to have been conquered by Cōḍagaṅga.³ Consequently the temple of Jagannātha must have been begun to be constructed several years after his conquest. When the Orissan conquest took place is not known, but at least 8 or 10 years might be reasonably assumed to have elapsed before it was taken possession of. We thus arrive at the anterior limit of 1085 A.D., as the date before which the temple of Jagannātha could not have been built by Cōḍagaṅga.

The posterior limit can be arrived at only indirectly. In the Govindapura inscription of Gayā edited by Prof. Kielhorn, it is said—

गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्दयः प्रतिष्ठापदं
 पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
 सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितै-
 स्तोयैर्यैः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाय क्षणं ॥⁴

Translation :—

"Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manōratha went to the sacred Puruṣōttama, and on the

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 190; Professor Kielhorn has thrown doubts on the English equivalent arrived at (see his note on the covering page 3, Vol. IV, pt. V).

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 169; J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIV, p. 130.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 334; for translation see p. 339.

noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon ; (and) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at full-moon time.”

This inscription is dated 1059 Çaka or 1137-38 A.D. It was composed by one Gaṅgādhara, son of Manōratha. The extract shows that the composer's father paid a visit to Puruṣōttama, and gave gifts on the shore of the sea. This visit may be presumed to have taken place 12 or 15 years back from the date of the inscription, or about 1122-25 A.D. The Puruṣōttama-Kṣēttra and necessarily the temple must have existed by that time, and must have attained considerable fame to deserve such specific mention. Thirty to thirty-five years might be allowed for this sanctity and the temple can be fairly supposed to have existed by (1125-35 or) 1090 A.D.

That the Kṣēttra and the temple existed before the end of the eleventh century receives some corroboration from another inscription. In the Nāgpur praçasti of the Mālava rulers I find the following passage :—

देवासौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाग्निश्रिये यः श्रिया
येनेदं बलिवैरिबन्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्र्वसितं ।
येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां
यस्य प्राच्ययोनिधौ बुधजनैर्याजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥⁵

Translation by Prof. Kielhorn :—

“Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully : ‘O lord, it was the holy Puruṣōttama to whom fortune resorted, who relieved the universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.’”

The king referred to is Lakṣma Dēva of Mālava, and the verse extracted is one of several describing his *digvijaya*. The verses preceding this refer to the invasion of East India, and the immediately preceding verse 43 refers to his conquest of Anga and Kalinga, while the immediately succeeding verse 45 refers to the eastern ocean. The allusion to the “holy Puruṣōttama” in the extract, and its juxtaposition with Anga, Kalinga and the eastern ocean points clearly to the Puruṣōttama-Kṣēttra and consequently its temple. The inscription is dated Samvat 1161 or 1104-5 A.D. Hence the Puruṣōttama temple would have existed some time before this, or say *circa* 1090 A.D.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 187 ; for translation see p. 193.


To resume, the above discussion is intended to establish the following conclusions:—

(1) that the present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Cōḍaganga of Ganga dynasty,

(2) that it existed by about 1090 A.D. and might have been built between 1085–90 A.D.,

(3) that the conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Cōḍaganga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075–1085 A.D.).

The above arguments are not conclusive, but in the absence of positive proof from any recorded inscriptions, they appear to me to carry much weight.



*Notes on the language and literature of Orissa, Parts III and IV.*¹—By
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[Read December 1897.]

PART III. OṚIYĀ SONGS AND RELIGIOUS POEMS.

In Part II. I have given some glimpses of the Sanskrit compositions in Orissa during the mediæval Hindu rule. The vernacular compositions began to flourish from the close of this Hindu rule. This change was brought on through various causes. The first cause lay in the study of Sanskrit itself. Sanskrit drifted more and more from the colloquial speeches, and a study of the Sanskrit language came to mean years of hard labour. The elaborate and minute analysis and classification of Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics proved a heavy burden for ordinary readers, and the study of Sanskrit literature became more and more unpopular among the leisured classes. If reading of Sanskrit works was found to be troublesome, the writing of works in that language was found to be still more so. The non-Brāhmin scholars continued to study Sanskrit literature on account of its high cultivation, but for compositions they turned their attention to the simple and familiar vernacular.

In Orissa this tendency was aided by its close connexion with Tēliṅgānā. By the 14th and 15th centuries the language of Tēliṅgānā, *i.e.*, the Tēlugu, had been well developed and an abundant Tēlugu literature had been produced. Through trade and through dynastic influences, Tēlugu songs, Tēlugu poems and Tēlugu grammars came to be well known in the southern part of Orissa. The leisured classes saw that the vernaculars were capable of being well-developed, and in this respect Tēlugu literature served as an excellent model. Thus a number of the non-Brāhmin scholars took to cultivation of their spoken speeches.

A further help in this direction was received from the spread of

¹ Parts I and II are published in Journal Part I, 1897.

Vaiṣṇavism. The sanctity of Purī attracted a considerable number of devotees, and several maṭhs of Rāmānuja and other sects sprang up on its sands. About 1510 A.D. Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇavite apostle of Bengal, first visited Orissa, and later on settled in Purī. Here he gathered a considerable following and by and by came to exercise much influence. Though a good Sanskrit scholar, he aimed to impart his religious instructions through the vernaculars. With the Paṇḍits he argued in Sanskrit, but to the laity he preached in their spoken dialect. His disciples came chiefly from the lower classes, and carried out this practice of vernacular preaching more extensively. In this way religion which had hitherto been a strong prop of the monopolising Sanskrit learning, ceased to be so. In contradistinction to Brāhmins, grew up a body of Vaiṣṇava gurus and mahantas whose influence gradually increased over the land, and with whose increasing influence the vernaculars came more and more to the front. The Vaiṣṇava devotees translated the Sanskrit religious works, composed new devotional poems, and by *saṅkīrtans* and vernacular songs considerably developed the power of the vernaculars. To the Vaiṣṇavites are due almost all the early vernacular compositions both in Orissa and in Bengal.

Another cause for the change lay in the overthrow by the Mahomedans of the paramount Hindu power. In 1568 A.D. the last independent Hindu king Tēlingā Makunda Dēva was defeated and killed; and Orissa was overrun by the victorious army of Sulaimān Kerānī of Bengal. From that year for nearly two centuries Orissa remained subject to the Mahomedan rule, first under Pathans and next under the Mughals. On the transfer of the supreme power the influence of the Brāhmins and of the Sanskrit language received a check. The Hindu religion itself lost the powerful support of the ruling power. In the towns the Persian and the Persianised Hindī (Urdū) came into vogue. They showed the people that Sanskrit was not the only highly cultivated tongue in India. Hence a certain amount of freedom was produced which was favourable to the cultivation of vernaculars. In the towns and in the courts of petty Hindu chiefs many turned their attentions to compositions in Oṛiyā.

To summarise, the difficulties of compositions in the dead Sanskrit, the example of the early developed Telugu, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism and the supersession of the Hindu rule by the Mahomedans—all tended to swell the tide in favour of the vernaculars. Original Sanskrit works by the Oṛiyās practically ceased. From the 16th century downwards, one finds no real Sanskrit compositions by non-Brāhmins. Even among the Brāhmins the writers confined themselves chiefly to *ṭikās* or ex-

planatory notes on Sanskrit classics. Small pieces, such as *Guṇḍicā-bijaya* or *Guṇḍicā-campu* (description of Jagannātha's car festival), or *Hāsyārṇava* (collection of comic verses) hardly deserve the name of works. Gradually even this Sanskrit scholarship declined and Brāhmins fairly well acquainted with Sanskrit classics or philosophy grew smaller in number. Young students were obliged to go to Benares for studying Sanskrit grammar or Vēdānta philosophy, or to Nadiyā in Bengal for studying Nyāya or logic.

It should not however be understood that because compositions in Sanskrit dwindled, Sanskrit language itself ceased to influence. Both Tēlugu and Urdū did not escape the influence of Sanskrit study, and so could make no change other than a general inclination towards the use of the vernaculars. The vehicle of expression alone changed; the intellectual atmosphere underwent no great change. Sanskrit classics, specially the later ones such as the *Naiṣadhīya* and the *Çiçupāla-vadha* were considered models to be closely imitated; while Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics supplied the rules of elegant compositions in Oṛiyā. Thus whether in versification or in the sentiment underlying them, in the outer forms or in the inner ideas of Oṛiyā poetry Sanskrit continued to dominate. At the time of discussing the later Oṛiyā poets, this preponderating influence of Sanskrit classics and rhetorics will be more fully seen.

The earliest compositions in Oṛiyā were

(A) Songs or

(B) Translations of the Sanskrit religious works.

These are generally in poetry. Certain prose works, such as *Mādaḷā Pāñji* or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple and *Vaṃçāvalīs* or genealogies of royal families had been begun from old time. They have however no literary merits and their historical value I will treat at the end of this article.

SONGS.

Songs are the articulations of man's heart deeply moved, and are as common to the civilised as to the savage. They are based on a single sentiment, or a single incident, and do not require long continuous thinking. Hence they precede serious compositions, and take their birth from the early childhood of a language. Oṛiyā could not have been an exception, and Oṛiyā songs must have been current from an early period. The earlier songs are lost. The only song which I am inclined to think as pre-Mahomedan is *Kēsaba Kō-iḷi* (केशव कोइलि) of Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa. This is known widely in Orissa, and is taught to children in the *pāṭhçālās*. From its wide popularity it would appear

to be more than three hundred years old. Hunter's list¹ puts its date as 500 years old; but the reasons for this conclusion are not given. The song is based on an incident of the Bhāgavata. ̐ri-Kṛṣṇa had gone to Mathurā leaving his mother Yaçōdā. Yaçōdā felt unhappy at the separation and poured out her grief addressing the cuckoo. The verse runs easy, and the subject—a mother's lamentation for her absent son—appeals to Indian hearts. No wonder therefore that the song is so popular in Orissa.

The other songs in current use are much later; but from the works of the chief Ōṛiyā poets the names of several earlier songs can be traced. These songs passed into favourite tunes, and came to be thus noticed. Among the oldest may be named Rukmaṇi Cautisā (रुक्मिणी चौतिशा)² Madhupa Cautisā (मधुप चौतिशा) and Biprasimha Cautisā (विप्रसिंह चौतिशा).³ Several other old songs are quoted as tunes by Upēndra Bhañja and in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa.⁴ It is a matter of regret that most of these songs are now known only by their names.

¹ Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, App. IX, p. 206. Here Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa is credited wrongly with the authorship of another song—Gyānōdaya Kō-ili. This song was really composed by Lōkanātha Dāsa, a disciple of one Trilōcana, and is much later. It deals with the mystical doctrines and symbols of Yōga, and some of the stanzas are really creditable, e.g.

जगतु ज्योति दुअर ।
 यहिँ विजे निराकार ।
 ज्योतिपरे ज्योति गोष्य ।
 यामिनी पाहि जळु अछि दीप लो ।
 यतन करि जगिवु येवे ।
 युगे युगे योगी होइवु तेवे लो । २६ ।

“Luminous is the door to the universe where shineth the formless. Light unto light darkening, behold, the lamp is burning the whole night. Watch ye with care, then age after age ye can be a Yōgī [26].”

² Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa's Rasakallōḷa, 25th Chānda; Upēndra Bhañja's Baidēhīsa-bilāsa, 46th Chānda.

³ Mathurā Maṅgaḷa, 5th Chānda for Madhupa; and for Biprasimha, see Mathurā Maṅgaḷa 27th and 30th Chāndas, Upēndra Bhañja's Baidēhīsabilāsa, 45th Chānda.

⁴ Upēndra Bhañja mentions Jadusimha Cautisā (यदुसिंह चौतिशा), Baidēhīsabilāsa, 43rd Chānda; Haṁsadūta Cautisā (हंसदूत चौतिशा) Baid. Bil. 44th Ch.; Gōpajībana Cautisā (गोपजीवन चौतिशा) Do. 47th Ch.; Chapō-i (छपोइ) Rasapañcaka 1st Pañcaka. Similarly in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa one comes across Bā Cautisā (बा चौतिशा) Ādyakāṇḍa 16th Ch.; “Caḷa-i Ratha” (“चळइ रथ”) Ayōdhya Kā. 11th Ch.; “Kusuma Sanrava” (“कुसुम सौरभ”) Āraṇyaka Kā. 17th

The existing songs begin with those of Upēndra Bhañja. Many of the later songs are now being compiled and printed. About four hundred such songs have now been published referable to some 70 or 80 authors. Among them the most prominent authors are Upēndra Bhañja, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā, Makunda Dēva, Banamāli Dāsa, Rājā Jagadēva, Gōpālakṛṣṇa and an unnamed chief calling himself Aṣṭa-durgānātha (or owner of eight forts). The first two authors will be separately noticed in Part IV. Makunda Dēva appears to be the king of Khōrdā who was imprisoned by the British for the Khōrdā rebellion of 1804. Rājā Jagaddēva was of Pārḷā Khēmḍi, District Ganjām; but his name I do not find in Mr. Sewell's list of Khēmḍi kings.¹ Banamāli Dāsa and Gōpālakṛṣṇa were two Brāhmins who appeared from their songs to have been devout Vaiṣṇavas.

Excluding from consideration the recent ones, the Oṛiyā songs are mostly *Cautisās*, that is in four or more couplets. Occasionally they are either *Chāndas* (like the ordinary poems)² or *Chapōis* (in six couplets), or *Bōlis*.³ As a rule, the songs deal with incidents of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Loves of human lovers and mistresses are rarely treated, and then the author is most likely of a royal family like Upēndra Bhañja. This exclusiveness in the treatment of the subject-matter originated in the paramount influence of Vaiṣṇavism and is noticeable not simply in songs but also in the other classes of poetry as I will point out later on.

The songs while mostly devoted to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, deal not with their pleasures but with their pains and describe either the pangs of new-born love or the pangs of separation from the beloved. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have been reduced to human level, and even of this anthropomorphised love, not the spiritual but the physical aspect, is generally dwelt upon. Several of these songs are composed in the true lyric vein, but as they generally contain descriptions of acts and feelings which would not be

and Uttarā Kā. 39th Ch.; Urdhaba Cautisā (ऊर्ध्व चौतिशा) Laṅkā Kā. 4th Ch.; “Kōṭā-i Guṇḍicā” (“कोटाइ गुण्डिचा”) Laṅkā Kā. 6th and 40th Ch.; Nandābā-i Cautisā (नन्दाबाइ चौतिशा) Laṅkā Kā. 18th and 64th Ch., etc., etc.

¹ Sewell's sketch of the dynasties of S. India, pp. 45-6.

² Chānda songs are referred to in Mathurā Maṅgala.

केवण चन्द्रवदनी कान्दगीतकु गाउयिला ।

ऊडिला धाड़ी, धाँदला काड़ि, दक्षण पड़ि गला ॥ 23rd Stanza 14th Ch.

“Some lady, with face handsome as the moon, was singing the Chānda song. (Seeing Kṛṣṇa) she missed a line, and ran, leaving singing and dropping her glances (in surprise).”

³ Bicitra Rāmāyāṇa, Jadu Bōli (यदु बोळि) Laṅkā Kāṇḍa, 34th Ch.; Dadhi-manthana Bōli (दधि मन्थन बोळि) Do. 41st Ch.

tolerated in modern society, it is impossible to quote them here. One of the least objectionable is the following song from the pen of Banamālī Dāsa; it will give some idea of the Oṛiyā songs. The poet compares love to a sharp knife.

[राग भूँभोट । ताल झुला]

प्रीति कुरी प्राण दिया रे । वाजिव छातिरे करलुहा रे । घोषा ।

खेहलुहा यतने तताइ । अश्रुजळ तहिँरे देइ ।

मार कारिगर यतने गड़िक्कि, तहिँरे कळङ्क विष पिआ रे । १ ।

अतिवड़ तीक्ष्ण से धार । नेत्र न ठेकइ तहिँर ।

नवीन दर्पण परि झटकइ, सवु दिने देख दिशे नूआ रे । २ ।

से च्छरीकि येज्ज कुइँव । जाति कुळ सवु तेजिव ।

न पारिले धरि निश्चे नाश यिव, विरहिमानङ्क प्राण खिआ रे । ३ ।

बोले वनमाळी से कुरी । सान वड़ नुहे काहारि ।

याहा संगे येते पीरति करइ, तेतिकि करइ कुआ वुआ रे । ४ ।

Sāṅgita Sāgara, first Tarāṅga, p. 28.

“Love is like unto a sharpened knife; its iron hand strikes at the heart; [chorus]. With care heating the love-iron, and with eye-tears toughening it, behold, the love god smith has made it carefully, its rust, alas, being poison-drinking. [1]. Very, very sharp is its edge, on which eye cannot be kept; it shines like a new mirror, looking new every time one sees through. [2]. He who touches that knife will have to forego caste and rank; he who fails to seize it is sure to die, so deadly to separated lovers. [3]. Banamālī says that this knife (of love) belongs neither to the old nor to the young; how much (stronger) the attachment, lo! so much (greater) is the uproar. [4].”

A few words about the music of these songs might here be added. Oṛiyā music is essentially southern. In the mediæval times Tanjore was famed for its dancing and singing; and Tēlingāna was not behind hand. The Tēlugu music attained its greatest developments during the later Vidyānagara rule. Tēlugu songs are still regarded as among the sweetest in the Indian vernaculars. Orissa which was long subject to the Tēlugu influence naturally borrowed from Tēlingāna its music. The *rāgas* or major tunes are almost exclusively Tēlugu which adopted mostly Sanskrit names, such as Dēçākṣa, Kāmōdī, Bhairava, Mukhārī, Maṅgala, Gurjarī, Ghaṇṭārava, Kauçika, Dhanāçrī, etc. In course of time the major tunes were often modified by local peculiari-

ties. These modifications might be considered as minor tunes, and fall roughly under two denominations:—

(1) *Bāṇīs* (बाणी).

(2) *Bṛttas* (वृत्त).

The difference in musical notation between the two classes I cannot say. Some of the *rāgas* slightly modified are occasionally treated as *Bāṇīs* such as *Cakrakēḷi* (चक्रकेळि), *Asāṛhasukla* (आशाढशुक्ल), *Kaḷasā* (कळसा), etc. But the bulk of the *Bāṇīs* are evidently derived from favourite songs such as *Munibara* (मुनिबर), *Rukmaṇi Cautisā* (रुक्मिणी चौतिशा), *Biprasimha Cautisā* (विप्रसिंह चौतिशा), *Jadu-simha Cautisā* (यदुसिंह चौतिशा), *Gōpajibana Cautisā* (गोपजीवन चौतिशा), *Chapō-i* (छपोइ), etc. *Bṛttas* are similarly derived from favourite songs or poems such as *Abakāsa Bṛtta* (अवकाश वृत्त), *Dhaga Bṛtta* (ढग वृत्त), *Bhāgabata Bṛtta* (भागवत वृत्त), *Kṛṣṇakaḷā Bṛtta* (कृष्णकळा वृत्त), etc.

In the latter part of the Mahomedan rule, the up-country music was gradually introduced into Orissa. The *tāḷas* or time-beating thus came into use. I find in the *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa*¹ one *tāḷa* named as *Ādim Guṇir* (आदिम गुशिर), which looks like an Urdu or Persian name. The well-known *tāḷa Khēmṭā* (खेमटा) is also mentioned in the above poem.² This appears to me to have been introduced before the Mahomedan conquest, and then apparently from the South. The *Khēmṭā* was known to Jagannātha Dāsa who refers to it thus in his *Bhāgabata*:—

खेमटा नादे गीत गाइ ।

के घाँर, सिंहनाद वाइ ॥ १६ ॥

10th Skandha, 19th Adhyāya, Printed Ed., p. 117.

(Speaking of the Gōpa boys and their sports says) “some ran singing to the *Khēmṭā* *tāḷa*, and some ran roaring like lions.”

RELIGIOUS POEMS.

Along with the songs, the Oṛiyā religious poems are among the earliest. They had their origin in the religious yearnings of the people. When Sanskrit, the depositary of all sacred and mythological informations, became a dead language, it naturally failed to satisfy the desires of the populace. Hence translations into vernaculars came to be necessary, and numerous attempts were made to meet the popular demands. Such attempts must have been made from an early

¹ *Sundarā Kāṇḍa*, 9th Chāṇḍa.

² *Ādya Kāṇḍa*, 7th Chāṇḍa ; *Laṅkā Kāṇḍa*, 27th Ch.

time, but the earliest ones are lost. The existing works cannot be put before the 16th century A.D.

The chief religious poems in current use are :—

- (1) The *Çrīmad-bhāgabata* (श्रीमद्भागवत) of Jagannātha Dāsa.
- (2) The *Rāmāyaṇa* (रामायण) of Balarāma Dāsa.
- (3) The *Mahābhārata* (महाभारत) of Sāraḷā Dāsa.
- (4) The *Harivaṃṣa* (हरिवंश) of Acyutānanda Dāsa.

Generally speaking, these poems are not literal translations but summaries and free adaptations of the Sanskrit original. The verses are usually simple and unornamented; the details are lengthy and tedious. Though they contain occasional passages of good descriptions and fine sentiments, they cannot be ranked high as literary compositions. Their importance lies firstly in the fact that they have supplied the bulk of religious and mythological informations to a strongly religious people from generations to generations. They have influenced all castes and all ages. By children their stories are heard with rapt interest; by adults they are learnt and talked about; by women and old men they are listened for days and months devoutly and patiently as the passport to some worldly good or heavenly bliss. Secondly, they form important land marks in the development of the Oṛiyā literature. Before their time the Oṛiyā was a rude uncouth dialect, poor in ideas, poor in words. These religious authors nursed it, imported words into it or coined words for it, and gave it some polish. They showed that the Oṛiyā language could be made fit for expressing complex thoughts and abstract feelings, and by their own imperfect efforts made it capable of being utilised in various kinds of versifications. They prepared in fact the way for the later Oṛiyā poets Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa, Upēndra Bhañja, and Abhimanyu Sāmantasimghāra. Any sketch therefore of the progress of the Oṛiyā intellect would be materially incomplete if it fails to give some accounts of these old religious poems.

The most influential of these has been the *Çrīmad-bhāgabata* or briefly **the Bhāgabata**. Very little is known about it and its author. The work itself gives no clue to its time excepting the fact that it must be later than *Çrīdhara Svāmi*, much later because his name is referred to with high veneration.¹ *Çrīdhara Svāmi* was a Gujarātī Brāhmin

¹ श्रीधर नामे विप्रवर । कलियुगरे जन्म तार ॥ १०३ ॥

श्रीभागवत ये पुराण । अष्टादश ये श्लोकेण (? सहस्रेण) ॥ १०४ ॥

ताटोका ये चतुर्थेण श्रे । कहे शिरीधर परकाशे ॥ १०५ ॥

MS. *Bhāgabata*, 12th Skandha, 13th Adhyāya.

“The Brāhmin by name *Çrīdhara* was born in *Kaliyuga*. The *Purāṇa Çrī-Bhāgabata* has *śloka*s eighteen thousand. Its *ṭikā* in thousands one-fourth (of the *Purāṇa*), *Çrīdhara* has expounded in writing.”

whose *ṭikā* or commentry on the Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the best known. He is believed to have flourished by the 14th century A.D. Hence the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata must be much later than 14th century A.D. Starting from backward I find that it must be earlier than sana 1143 or 1736 A.D. in which year was copied a MS. of the fourth Skandha.¹ It is earlier than Baidēhīsaḥiḥāsa, one of the earliest poems of Upēndra Bhañja, for the Bhāgabata is referred to as a tune (Bṛtta) in its 27th Chānda. He preceded Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa whose principal work the Rasakallōḷa is probably based on the tenth Skandha 1st to 52nd Adhyāya of the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata. Dīnakṛṣṇa refers to a tune Rukmaṇī Cautisā (Rasakallōḷa 25th Chānda), and this tune is derived from a song which is likely to have been based on the popular vernacular Bhāgabata (10th Skandha 56th to 58th Adhyāya). If Dīnakṛṣṇa's time be taken at the middle of the 17th century, as I shall show later on, the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata must be still older and cannot be later than the close of the 16th century.

This is borne out by the general tradition, according to which Jagannātha Dāsa, the author of the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata, is identifiable with the Jagannātha Dāsa who founded the Atibara subsect of Oṛiyā Vaiṣṇavas, and who was a disciple of Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇavite preacher of Bengal. This tradition is strongly corroborated by the Jagannāthacaritāmṛta which attempts to give a biography of the Atibara founder somewhat like Caitanya's in the Caitanyacaritāmṛta. In that work the author Dībākara Kara remarks in the 5th Adhyāya :—

श्लोक करि भागवतार्थ । पदे कलि भाषाचरित ॥ १६ ॥

पूर्वे येउं गोसाँइँ यहिँ । येवण भाषा छन्ति कहिँ ॥

से पद ठिक ठिक करि । लेखलि भाषा अनुसरि ॥ १८ ॥ Ms. folio 28.

“ Having understood the ślōkas of Bhāgabata, I rendered them into *Bhāṣā*. The lines which my Gōsāī (*i.e.*, Jagannātha Dāsa) had said before in *Bhāṣā*, I correctly understood, and wrote following this *Bhāṣā*.”

As Jagannātha Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya, he must have flourished in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century, and the Bhāgabata was probably finished towards the latter part of this 2nd quarter.

The Jagannāthacaritāmṛta has not yet been printed. The manuscript which I am using consists of 136 folios with four lines on

¹ See Supra pt. I, p. 330, J. A. S. B., Part I, 1897. The passage runs thus :—

इति श्रीमद्भागवते महापुराणे ... त्रिंशो अध्यायः ॥ ० ॥ समस्त रामचन्द्र दो महा-
राजाङ्गर १२ अङ्क सन ११४२ साले ए पुस्त(क) संपूर्ण हेल्ला । Ms. Folio 127.

each page. It is a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Oṛiyā verses. It purports to be a biography of Jagannātha Dāsa, but the first seven Adhyāyas treat more of Caitanya than of Jagannātha, while the 20th Adhyāya is exclusively devoted to a description of the Puruṣōttama Kṣētra. The author Dibākara Kara was a Brāhmin Vaiṣṇava of the Atibara subsect.¹ His time is unknown, but from the respect in which he is held by the Vaiṣṇavas of that subsect, he cannot be less than 150 to 200 years old. The biography is more full of quotations, eulogies and miracle descriptions than of facts, and after a wearisome reading, I have been able to cull the following few details about Jagannātha Dāsa.

Jagannātha was born at Kapilēṣvarapura Sāsana, District Purī. His father was Bhagabāna Dāsa Purāṇa Paṇḍā (reader of Purāṇas), and his mother was named Padmā. The time of his birth is noted as noon of bhādra çukla aṣṭamī. As he grew into boyhood, he took up the usual studies of a Brāhmin, and he is said to have read up to his eighteenth year. *Apropos* of the Bhāgabata, it is said in the 1st Adhyāya:—

श्रीरामायण ग्रन्थ साधि । श्रीभागवते देले बुधि । १६ ।

द्वादश स्कन्द भागवत । टीका टिप्पणिहि सहित ॥ १०५ ॥

“Having studied the Rāmāyaṇa, he applied his mind to (studying) the Bhāgabata;—the twelve skandha-ed Bhāgabata with all its notes and commentaries.”

After finishing the studies, Jagannātha Dāsa took up his father's pursuits, *viz.*, reading Purāṇas in the temple of Jagannātha. Here Caitanya often met him and was so much delighted with his reading and religious devotion that he made him a disciple. Gradually Jagannātha became the favourite of Caitanya who gave him the surname Atibara or “the greatest.” This displeased the other disciples, most of whom left Purī. Caitanya grew more and more fond of him and recommended him to king Pratāpa Rudra of Orissa. Soon after Caitanya disappeared (*i.e.*, died). Jagannātha Dāsa continued to reside in Purī. He showed various miracles to the king and converted him

¹ In the 5th Adhyāya the author thus speaks of his own ancestors.

मो नाम विप्र दिवाकर । निमदेव पिता मोहोर । ४ ।

गोपाळदासे खुडुपिता । नन्ददासे ताङ्कर पिता । ५ ।

ताङ्कर पिता वाइ दासे । चम्पा नामेण माता मोर । ६ ।

भरद्वाज गोत्र मोहोर । वृहत्यङ्गिर प्रवर । ७ । MS. Folio 27.

“My name is Dibākara, a Bipra (Brāhmin by caste). Nima Dēba is my father, and Gōpāḷa Dāsa my uncle. Their father is Nanda Dāsa, whose father is Bā-i Dāsa. My mother is by name Campā. My *gōtra* is Bharadvāja, and (my) *pravara* Vṛhatyaṅgira.”

and numerous others as his followers. Ultimately, Jagannātha Dāsa himself disappeared in the body of the Lord Jagannātha. According to the author, Caitanya was an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, while Jagannātha Dāsa was an avatāra of Rādhā.

The Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the most sacred book of the Vaiṣṇavas, their Bible or Koran. The Oṛiyās are mostly Vaiṣṇavas, and hence the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata enjoys an immense popularity. In every respectable house a room is set apart in which the Bhāgabata with the other religious works is kept on a *gāḍi* (raised seat) and periodically or daily worshipped with flowers, tulsī leaves and sandal pastes. In every important village a shed is set aside at one end, where the villagers gather and hear every week the Bhāgabata read out by Brāhmins. On auspicious days the Bhāgabata is read out in a gentlemen's house to his friends and relatives, while the *pōthi* is always handled with care and respect.

I give below two extracts to let the reader have some idea of the writer's powers. The first gives a description of the summer season in the groves of Bṛndābana; and the second attempts to describe in vernacular the Māyā doctrine of Vēdāntism.

एमन्ते शुण परीक्षित । स्वभावे सरिला वसन्त ॥ ५ ॥
 निदाघकाळ आगमन । घर्मे तापित सर्व जन ॥
 सर्वदा वसन्त पवन । सधीरे वहे दिन दिन ॥
 वसन्त नुहे ना दुर्लभ । ये वने श्रीराम माधव ॥
 नदीनिर्भर जळ नादे । निवीड भरङ्ग श्रवदे ॥
 निर्भर जळकणे मिलि । अतिशीतळ वनस्थळी ॥ १० ॥
 नदीतरङ्ग पुष्पवन । पवन योगे कम्पमान ॥
 जळे अक्कइ पुष्प येते । कमळ कुसुद सहिते ॥
 ताछाङ्क रेणु घेनि वळे । पवन वहे कुतुहळे ॥
 एणु से वृन्दावन देश । निदाघ न करे स्पर्श ॥
 घन गहन वन भूमि । तेणु नुहन्ति जोवे श्री ॥ १५ ॥
 अति गभीर नदीजळे । लहरी वाजि उठे वळे ॥
 पङ्क दिशइ वेनि तट । भङ्ग तरङ्गे धुआ तुठ ॥
 पुणि एवन भूमि देश । आदित्य न करइ ग्रास ॥
 स्वभावे कुसुमित वने । चित्र मथूर पक्षी खने ॥
 कोकिल सारस निकर । भ्रमर ध्वनि मनोहर ॥ २० ॥

“Now listen Parikṣita. In due course passed away the spring. [5]. Came hot summer, perspiring all men. (But in Br̥ndābana) every day the spring breezes blow gently. Spring cannot be rare in the grove where Çri-Rāma (Balabhadra) and Mādhava (Kṛṣṇa) are. The deep springs babbling; make murmurs in the river water. The sprays of the stream and of the springs mixing, keep cool the woody groves. [10]. With the breeze shake the river ripples and the blossoming groves. Playfully the wind wafts abroad the (pollen) dusts of the flowers in water, the lotuses, the nelumbiums, and others. Hence this Br̥ndābana land with its deep woods and groves hot summer never touches; hence its residents never feel tired. [15]. In the deep river water, ripples rise one after another in force; muddy look both its banks; the ripples breaking wash the bathing recesses. Moreover, the sun never torments this forest grove, this wood by nature blooming with flowers, and resounding with the screams of the many-coloured peacocks, with the notes of the cuckoos and the cranes, with the delightful hum of the bees. [20].”

भो नाथ नम तो पयर । आदिपुरुष विश्वेश्वर ॥
 प्रकृति परे तोर वास । एणु प्राणिङ्कि अप्रकाश ॥ ७० ॥
 जन्तुङ्क अन्तर वाहारे । तो विनु अन्य नाहिँ परे ॥
 आत्मादि मायायवनिका । जीव स्वरूपे थाइ एका ॥
 इन्द्रिय तुळे भोग करि । अभय आदि रूपे पूरि ॥
 तोहोर माया यार चित्ते । से तोते जाणिव केमन्ते ॥
 नटङ्क मध्ये ये नायक । से येहे नाटे मोहे लोक ॥ ७५ ॥
 नाना काङ्क्षेणि से भियाइ । नृत्यकारकु ये नचाइ ॥
 देखन्ता प्राणी मन मोहे । सत्य विचारे किङ्कि गोहे ॥

1st Skandha, 8th Adhyāya, printed ed. p. 40.

“Salutation to thy feet, oh Lord! thou, the first cause, the Lord of the universe. Thou residest beyond Prakṛti (nature), and hence art invisible to beings. [70]. The interior and the exterior of all creatures, nothing is outside thee. (The ideas of) Ātmā, i. e., Self and others are but so many *māyā* curtains, while in essence the Being remains the same. This Being enjoys through the senses; and puts on (as masks) forms like *abhaya*, and others. How can he know thee, oh Lord! over whose mind thine *māyā* (illusion) is? Just as the master among the *naṭas* (jugglers) by his juggleries fascinates the lookers-on; [75] and bringing forth various tricks and causing puppets to dance, bewitches the minds of spectators—but in truth they are nothing (so is it with thee, oh Lord!).”

The Bhāgabata was also translated in Oṛiyā by Kṛṣṇa Simha, the Rājā of Dharākōṭa in Ganjām District, and this translation is believed to be more accurate. But like the revised version of the Bible it has failed to be popular. Hunter's list also mentions an Oṛiyā version of the Bhāgabata by one Kṛṣṇa Dāsa. The influence of Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgabata is traceable in many of the later works. It moulded three large works, viz., Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa's Rasakallōḷa, Bhaktacarana Dāsa's Mathurā Maṅgaḷa, and the Prēmapañcāmṛta of Bhūpati Paṇḍita. Modified by Rādhā-cultism, it had its effect on the works of Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā and Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṃghāra. It suffused whether with or without Rādhā-worship, the numerous songs of the Oṛiyās (Cautisās and Pōis). As already pointed out it gave rise to a separate tune and class of versification. Even now various Jātrās based upon and borrowed from the Bhāgabata are played to large audiences in the mofussil, and are watched with much interest. The importance of this work in the past and even present life of the mofussil Oṛiyās it would be difficult to exaggerate.

Next in importance is the Oṛiyā Rāmāyaṇa (or as commonly pronounced Rābāṇa) of Baḷarāma Dāsa. Little is known about the author. He must be earlier than sana 1164 or 1757 A.D. in which year one of the manuscripts I have seen was copied. He apparently preceded the poet Upēndra Bhañja, as the latter refers to him respectfully as कृपा सिद्धाय गीत प्रकाशे, (*i.e.*), one who uttered his verses inspired by the grace of God.¹ This veneration presupposes a pretty long time back and agrees with the general tradition according to which Baḷarāma Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya. In Jagannāthacaritāmṛta that I have already referred to, Jagannātha Dāsa is said to have been initiated as a disciple of Caitanya by मत्त वल्लराम दास (the enthusiast Baḷarāma Dāsa).² If he be identifiable with the author, then the Oṛiyā

¹ Baidēhīsabilāsa, 1st Chānda, 4th Stanza, printed ed., p. 4. Upēndra Bhañja does not name him, but this has been explained by his commentator.

² Jag. caritāmṛta MS., Folio 10.

येउटि मत्त वल्लराम । बैष्णव मानङ्क उत्तम । १२६ ।

आसन शय्य (न) भोजन । अमण स्थापन स्वपन । १२७ ।

रात्र दिवस न जाणनि । प्रेमरे मत्त होइ थानि । १२८ ।

“That enthusiast Baḷarāma, the best among the Vaiṣṇavas, he does not, while sitting, sleeping, eating, walking, lying, dreaming, know day or night; but is phrenzied in his devotion (to God).”

Baḷarāma Dāsa has been again mentioned in Fol. 36, as a chief disciple of Caitanya Dēva.

श्रीगौरिदास पण्डित । मत्त वल्लराम सङ्गत ॥

Rāmāyaṇa slightly preceded the Bhāgabata and will have to be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century.

Baḷarāma Dāsa came of a respectable family. He was a son of an Oṛiyā minister named Sōmanātha Mahāpātra.

महामन्त्रिवर सोमनाथ माहापात्र ।

वळरामदास ताहार अटइ पुत्र ॥

MS. No. 2, Fol. 308.

“Çrī-Sōmanātha Mahāpātrā is the chief of ministers. His son is Baḷarāma Dāsa.”

He became a devout Vaiṣṇava and came to reside in Purī. In the closing passages of each Kāṇḍa he expresses his humility and prays to Jagannātha for his deliverance. His Rāmāyaṇa is simple in style and is generally written in one form of versification. He sometimes uses grammatical forms not now in existence, *e.g.*—

चर्म नयनेण सु देखिलि जगन्नाथ ।

तेणु से वाखाणिलि आदिकाण्ड ग्रन्थ ॥

MS. No. 1, Fol. 447.

“With the eye of flesh have I seen Lord Jagannātha ; hence have I been able to expound the work Ādikāṇḍa.”

Here “nayanēṇa” contains an instrumental form of “ēṇa” which was derived from Sanskrit but is not now in use. Similar grammatical variations are also to be found in the Oṛiyā Mahābhārata. It is a pity that neither of these works has yet been printed. The influence of this Rāmāyaṇa is perceptible in several later works, such as Baidēhisabīlāsa of Upēndra Bhañja, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā, the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Harihara Dāsa and Rāmalīlā of Sadāsiba Dāsa.¹ The Rāmalīlā Jātras of the mofussil are mostly based on this work. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa translated another version of the Rāmāyaṇa, which though literally more correct has failed to catch the public ear.

¹ This author is not mentioned in Hunter’s list. The manuscript consists of 92 folios with 5 lines on each page. The work describes in verse the story of Rāma from his birth to his abhiṣēka (crowning). The manuscript was copied in 1229 sana or 1820 A.D. and ends thus—

सदा सदाशिवकु एमन्त कृपा कर ।

रामसीता विनु आने मन नोऊ तार ॥ 121st Canto, 14th couplet.

“(Oh God!) Always do this favour to Sadāsiba, that his mind may not go elsewhere except towards Rāma and Sītā.”

In addition to the Rāmāyaṇa, Baḷarāma Dāsa composed numerous smaller pieces, a list of which is to be found in Hunter's *Orissa*, App. ix. They amount to twenty-two and deal with various religious and ethical topics. Of these I have seen in manuscripts, the *Arjuna Gītā* (No. 2), *Gupta Gītā* (No. 14), and *Tuḷābhīṇā* (No. 23); and in print, *Bēdhā-parīkramā* (No. 1), *Gajānistārāṇa Gītā* (No. 10), and *Mruḡaṇistuti* (No. 17). I have also seen in print *Kānta Kō-īḷi* (कान्त कोइळि) which was composed by Baḷarāma Dāsa, but which has not been mentioned in Hunter's list. This song is put into the mouth of Sītā and describes the events from her abduction by Rāvaṇa to Rāma's abhiṣēka.

The next great epic of Sanskrit, the *Mahābhārata* has also been rendered into Oṛiyā. The popular version was by Sārōḷā Dāsa. He was a Īūdra by caste, and while he professed to be a Vaiṣṇava and speaks devoutly of Jagannātha, he was at heart a worshipper of the goddess Caṇḍī. The closing lines of each parva speak of Sārōḷā Caṇḍī Ṭhākuraṇī; and in his last page he says—

यखँरपूर्वासेनि हिङ्गुळा चण्डी शारोळो ।
से मोर तुळसीमाळ हेले बक्षस्यळे ॥

“The (goddess) Hingulā Caṇḍī Sārōḷō dwells at Jakhēmpura. She is my *tulasī* (*Ocimum*) garland that swings over the breast.”

Then again his last lines are

श्रीचण्डी च यखँपूर्वासीङ्ग चरणे ।

गुद्रमुनि शारोळादास पसीला शरणे ॥ MS. Folio 245.

“At the feet of Īrī-Caṇḍī, the resident of Jakhēmpura, the Īūdra ascetic Sārōḷā Dāsa seeks refuge.”

The goddess Caṇḍī is said to be of Jakhēm which is probably the older form of the present village Jhaṅkara in Thāna Tirtōḷa, District Cuttack. Here the worship of Sārōḷā Ṭhākuraṇī is widely prevalent and attracts considerable local pilgrimage.

It is impossible at present to find out the precise date of this work. It must be older than the 3rd Aṅka of Rāmacandra Dēva, Mithuna 21st, on which date the oldest manuscript I have seen was copied. The 3rd Aṅka of Rāmacandra Dēva II. falls in 1732-3 A.D.¹ How much older he was there is no means of knowing. But from its popularity and veneration, from its uneven versification, and peculiar forms of several of its words and grammatical terminations I infer that the work cannot be later than

¹ In Appendix IV of this article I have shown that Rāmacandra Dēva began to reign in 1731-2 A.D. His 3rd Aṅka or the 2nd year should therefore be 1732-3 A. D.

16th century A.D. and might belong to its first half. Like the Sanskrit original it forms a gigantic undertaking and takes up about two thousand folios. It does not pretend to any literary finish, and the verses often rhyme unequally. But it has the merit of having superseded the Sanskrit Mahābhārata among the common mass.

According to tradition, Sārōḷā Dāsa was a resident of the village Kāḷināga in Parganā Jhaṅkaṛa. A cāsā by caste, he had three more brothers. He was considered the dunce of the family; but through the grace of Sārōḷā Dēvī, the principal goddess of Jhaṅkaṛa, he is said to have acquired the power of versifying. The goddess ordered him to compose the Mahābhārata in Oṛiyā; and when he expressed his inability to distinguish good from bad verses, she said “Write on palm leaves whatever comes to your mind. When you get disgusted, take the palm leaves so written to the river Candrabhāgā, and float them on its water. Gather those leaves which will float up to you and stitch them according to the order of receipt. This will be your Mahābhārata.” In this way Sārōḷā Dāsa is said to have composed his work. Candrabhāgā is another name for the stream Buḍhā that flows past the village Tēntulipadā in Parganā Jhaṅkaṛa. After composing, Sārōḷā Dāsa took his poem to Purī, but there the Paṇḍits laughed at it. During the night, however, Lord Jagannātha appeared in a dream to the Rājā, and strongly recommended the work to him. Then by order of the Rājā, the work was re-examined by the Paṇḍits, who unanimously approved it. Pleased with his poem, the Rājā of Purī gave him, as *jāgīr*, Jhaṅkaṛa and three other Parganās. Sārōḷā Dāsa’s descendants still live at Kāḷināga, Tēntulipadā and the adjoining villages, and now pass as Karaṇas or members of the writer-caste.

Another version of the Mahābhārata into Oṛiyā was prepared under the direction of the Rājā Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa. But this version though literally more correct, is hardly known among the people. The influence of the Mahābhārata, both Sanskrit and Oṛiyā, may be traced in certain brief redactions such as the Sucitra Bhārata of Kēsaba Dāsa and the Bicitra Bhārata of Bisvambhara Misra. Episodes of Mahābhārata were worked into smaller pieces as Kapaṭapāsā or fraudulent dice-playing, Subhadrā-pariṇaya or marriage of Subhadrā, Gajanistāraṇa Gītā or the deliverance of the elephant in his fight with the tortoise, etc. In addition the Bhāgabatagītā which really forms a part of the Mahābhārata was translated into Oṛiyā; and a version of the Jaimini Mahābhārata was made for popular use.

The last important religious work I will notice is the **Harivaṃṣa**. In the original Sanskrit it is a supplement of the Epic Mahābhārata.

But as it treats of Kṛṣṇa and his career, it assumed more importance in a Vaiṣṇava land. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa, in pursuance of his desire to have Oṛiyā translations of the chief religious works translated the Harivaṃṣa. But it is not known among the mass. They use two versions which are commonly designated as

- (1) *Khaṇḍkiā* or single-volumed, and
- (2) *Sātakhaṇḍi-ā* or seven-volumed.

The first is later and was made by a Brāhmin named Nārāyaṇa Dāsa. He speaks of himself thus in his last but one couplet:—

श्रीनीलसुन्दरनाथ अभय चरणे ।

विप्र नारायणदास नमइ वक्षस्यले ॥ MS. Folio 272.

“At the safety-giving feet of the all-beautiful Lord of the blue (hill), the Brāhmin Nārāyaṇa Dāsa bows at heart.”

As usual, nothing is known of him. But I am inclined to think that he was contemporary with the chief Oṛiyā poets, and probably belongs to the beginning of the 17th century.

The second work is much older and more popular. It was made by Acyutānanda Dāsa. He was a Çūdra by caste and was initiated into Vaiṣṇavism. He preached Vaiṣṇavism among the cattle-keeper caste (Gauras) and was given the title *Mahata*. Undoubtedly he was a devout Vaiṣṇava and his poem is full of expressions of humility. He lived in Raṇapura, a Tributary State adjoining the Purī District and was supported by its chief, Padmaḷābha Narēndra. According to Raṇapura royal genealogy, Padmaḷābha was the 97th king of the family, and ruled between 1477 to 1525 A.D. He is said to have accompanied the Orissa king Puruṣōttama Dēva in his raid to Kāñcī (Conjivēram). The time of this Harivaṃṣa should therefore be referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Certain personal informations were given by the poet himself in his closing lines.

रणपुर मभि सु आखण्डचले सु वसिकरि थाइ ।

पद्मनाभ नरेन्द्र मोते अर्ख देइ पोसइ ॥

जाति रे सुहि ये सुद्रजन्म अटइ ।

दीक्षा पाइ सु गउड़ कुले थाइ ॥

समस्त गोपाळङ्कु नाम सिद्धा देइ ।

श्रीहरीचरणकु आश्रि करियाइ ॥

गडकुळरे सु बोलाइ महत ।
 दया करिक्कन्ति मोते कमळारकान्त ॥
 श्रीगोपीनाथङ्क चरणकु आस ।
 कवि अच्युतदासकु रख हे पीतवास ॥
 सातखण्ड हरिवंश होइला सम्पूर्ण ।
 अच्युतदास भावइ गोविन्द चरण ।

MS. last chapter, folios 231-2.

“At Ākhaṇḍācala in Raṇapura I reside. Padmanābha Narēndra supports me. I am born of the Çūdra caste. Having received initiation (into Vaiṣṇavism), I stay among the Gauṛas; and teach and preach to all the Gōpālas (Gauṛas), taking refuge at the feet of Çrī-Hari. Among the Gauṛas I am called *Mahata*. The husband of Kamaḷā (*i. e.*, the god Hari) has taken mercy upon me. This prayer to Çrī Gōpīnātha's feet—Oh yellow-robed!—preserve the poet Acyuta Dāsa. The seven-volumed *Harivaṃṣa* is finished; Acyuta Dāsa meditates on Lord Gōvinda's feet.”

Hunter's list (Vol. II, p. 197) credits this Acyutānanda Dāsa with a *Sapta Bhāgabata* which is evidently a mistake for the *Sātakhaṇḍī-ā Haribamṣa*. The list also ascribes two smaller pieces to him: (1) *Ananta Gōyi* or the eternal mystery, and (2) *Acyutānanda Mālikā* or the prophecies of Acyutānanda.

The other religious works in Oriya are, as might be expected in the land of Jagannātha, mostly Vaiṣṇavite. They may be roughly divided into:—

(1) Paurāṇic, such as translations of Çiva Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍa Purāṇa, and of the various periodical Māhātmyas, as Kārttika, Māgha, Vaiçākha, Ekādaçī;

(2) Poems, as Dharaṇī Dhara's translation of Gītagōvinda, and the translation of Hamsadūta;

(3) Jagannātha worship—as *Guṇḍicābijē* or the procession of Jagannātha on his car to *Guṇḍicā*, the summer house; *Dārubrahma*, and the *Dē-ōḷa Tōḷā*—an account of the origin of the god and his temple; translation of *Puruṣōttama Māhātmya*, etc.

These works appeared later, and have no such special literary merits as to deserve detailed notice. In the next part will be treated the chief Oṛiyā poets and this will conclude my sketch of Oṛiyā literature.¹

¹ In Oṛiyā pronunciation, the consonants v, y, and ç are hardened to b, j, and z respectively; hence the difference in transliteration.

PART IV. THE LATER OṚIYĀ POETS.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The works of the following authors will be dealt with in this article. They form the most important part of the Oṛiyā literature.

1. Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa (दीनकृष्ण दास).
2. Upēndra Bhañja (उपेन्द्र भञ्ज).
3. Bhūpati Paṇḍita (भूपति पण्डित).
4. Bhaktacarāṇa Dāsa (भक्तचरण दास).
5. Bisvanātha Khunṭi-ā (विश्वनाथ खुण्टिआ).
6. Lōkanātha Dāsa (लोकनाथ दास).
7. Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā (सदानन्द कविसूर्यब्रह्मा).
8. Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra (अभिमन्यु सामन्तसिंहार).

In the treatment of the subject-matter, etc., the poets differ so little from one another, that a few preliminary remarks will suffice to point out the general characteristics of Oṛiyā poetry, and enable me to dispense with the detailed discussion of each poem. The remarks may be noted under the following heads :—

- (a) The subject-matter.
- (b) The versification.
- (c) The sentiment.

On examining the narrative parts of these poems, two general tendencies are perceptible, one *religious*, the other *fictional*. **The religious tendency is exclusively Vaiṣṇavite.** By the time serious compositions had been begun in Oṛiyā, Īvaism in spite of its stronghold at Bhuvanēṣvara, and Īāktism in spite of its prevalence at Jājapura, had ceased to influence the popular mind. Viṣṇu-worship was in full swing and naturally Oṛiyā poetry reflected this popular bent.

Viṣṇu was worshipped in various forms. One such form was **Jagannātha**, whose temple and worship at Purī still attract thousands of pilgrims. His rites were well-known to the above authors, who either resided at Purī or visited it on pilgrimage. Upēndra Bhañja translated into Oṛiyā verse the local Māhātmya, and Dīnakṛṣṇa described the well-known Ratha festival in his *Guṇḍicābijē*. In spite, however, of the veneration for Jagannātha in Orissa, his worship failed to be a great religion because it had no great epic or Purāṇa to fall back upon, and because it had no special organisation to propagate its doctrines. The priests and their agents busied themselves mainly in drawing pilgrims to the shrine and not in proselytising them into a sect; while no great scholar or preacher arose to elaborate the dogmas in any famous poem or religious work.

Rāma-worship, another variant of Vaiṣṇavism was somewhat more successful in Oṛiyā poetry. The Rāmayaṇa has always been the most favourite of Sanskrit poems; and the Rāmāts who came on pilgrimage or resided at Purī in the various *maths* generally exercised considerable influence. Hence the career of Rāma was often selected for the subject-matter, such as Upēndra Bhañja's Baidēhīśabilāsa, Bisvanātha Khunṭi-ā's Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa, Sadāsiba Dāsa's Rāmaliḷā. But on the whole, it failed to be popular in Orissa because the Rāmāts were few in number and chiefly confined to Purī, and because it had to contend with the powerful influence of Caitanya and his disciples.

The most prevalent form of Vaiṣṇavism was and still is in Orissa the **Kṛṣṇa-worship**. I shall not burden this article with the origin and history of this great religion, interesting as the subject is, because long before the beginning of serious poetry, Kṛṣṇa-worship had become the favourite religion in Orissa. But since then Kṛṣṇa-worship underwent an important modification. Gradually a feminine element was added to the male type of divinity, and the worship of Kṛṣṇa alone was superseded by the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A similar and parallel transformation from the single to the dual type is traceable in the gradual development of Ćivaism into Ćāktism, and also in the Buddhistic hierarchy.

The name of Rādhā is comparatively modern. It is not to be found either in the Vēdic works or in the older Sanskrit classics and Purāṇas. The Harivaṃṣa, the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the triple Bible of the Vaiṣṇavites, are silent about her.¹ The earliest authentic mention of Rādhā is to be found in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa and in Jayadēva's Gītagōvinda.² Brahmavaivarta's date is

¹ The following passage of Ćrīmadbhāgavata is twisted to mean a reference to Rādhā, but obviously it does not.

अनयाराधितो नूनं भगवान् हरिरीश्वरः ।

यन्नो विहाय गोविन्दः प्रीतो यामनयद्रहः ॥ २३ ॥

Bh. 10th Sk. 30th Adh. 23rd Ćlōka.

“Evidently God Hari was devoutly prayed by this (lady), for Gōvinda has taken her (alone) to privacy leaving us behind.”

Another passage (same Adhyāya 34th Ćlōka) is quoted by the author of Caitanyacaritāmṛta as referring to Rādhā, but the text does not even mention her (Ādilīlā 6th parichēda).

² In Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, Rūpa Gōsvāmī quotes one passage as being from Padma Purāṇa.

यथा राधा प्रियाविष्णोस्तस्याः कुण्डं प्रियं तथा ।

सर्वगोपीषू सैवैका विष्णोरत्यन्तवत्सभा ॥

l. c. Cai. Car. Mr. Ādilīlā 4th pari.

unknown, probably not earlier than tenth century A.D. Jayadēva flourished in the twelfth century. Rādhā-worship cannot therefore be earlier than ninth century and possibly later. She appears to have been evolved out of the Tāntric wave in East India, which gave rise to the worship of Tārā and Vajra-Yōginī in Buddhism, and to that of Durgā and Kālī in Īvaism.

The prevalence of Rādhā-worship in Orissa is largely due to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavites. Jayadēva's exquisite poem was much appreciated by Oṛiyā scholars, and five hundred years ago was ordered by the king Pratāpa Rudra to be sung every evening before Jagannātha to the exclusion of all other songs. Jayadēva's example in treating Rādhā as divine was followed in the Bengali vernacular by other poets, such as Bidyāpati, Caṇḍī Dās, Gōbinda Dās. Then came Caitanya, the great preacher of Nabadvīp. Partly influenced by the above poets and partly by the Vallabhācāris at Mathurā, he took to preaching Rādhā-cultism, and was ably assisted by his numerous disciples in Orissa and elsewhere. The worship of Rādhā became the most prominent part of his rituals, and after his death he himself came to be regarded as an incarnation jointly of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.¹ The preachings of Caitanya and his

“As Rādhā is the favourite of Viṣṇu, so her Kuṇḍa is his favourite. Among all the Gōpīs she alone is the most beloved of Viṣṇu.”

The passage seems spurious. Padma Purāṇa is notorious for its large later additions, and even then no second ślōka is forthcoming in that voluminous work about Rādhā. Besides, Kṛṣṇa and not Viṣṇu should be associated with her. Furthermore if the author of Caitanyacaritāmṛta is to be believed (Madhyalīlā, 18th parichēda), Rādhā-Kuṇḍa was first discovered by Caitanya, and hence could not have been mentioned in Padma Purāṇa composed several centuries earlier.

Another passage is sometimes quoted to indicate the antiquity of Rādhā (Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra).

देवीकृष्णमयीप्रोक्ता राधिका परदेवता ।

सर्वलक्ष्मीमयी सर्वकान्तिः सन्मोहिनी परा ॥

“Dēvī Rādhikā, it is said, is rapt in Kṛṣṇa, the highest divinity, possessor of all prosperity and beauty, all-charming, the highest.”

If the ślōka be genuine, it does not affect my arguments. The date of Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra is uncertain, but it cannot be much old, as all Tantras are comparatively modern and generally date from eighth century downwards.

¹ राधाकृष्णप्रणयविकृतिर्ज्ञादिनीशक्तिरस्मा-

देकात्मनावपि भुवि पुरा देहभेदङ्गतौ तौ ।

चैतन्याख्यां प्रकटमधुना तद्द्वयैक्यमाप्तं

राधाभावद्युतिसुवलितं नौमि कृष्णस्वरूपं ॥

Rūpa Gōsvāmī's Karacā, l. c. Cait. Car. Ādilīlā, 4th pari.

“Rādhā is but transformation of Kṛṣṇa's love, his hlādinī power. Essentially

disciples made numerous converts in Orissa who now pass as Gauṛiyās, and further more created a religious ferment that gave rise to several subsects, such as Atibāris, Bindudhāris, Kabirājis, Kālindi Vaiṣṇavas, and others. All of them accept the dual type (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) as their fundamental doctrine.

This change in the popular religious feelings acted on the poets. The songs were influenced quickly as they needed little learning and represented the first ebullitions. The chief poets were affected more slowly, because all of them knew Sanskrit, and the Bhāgavata and Harivaṁṣa were silent about Rādhā. The earlier poets Dīnakṛṣṇa, Upēndra Bhañja, and Bhaktacarāṇa dealt but little about her. In Dīnakṛṣṇa's Rasakallōḷa, Rādhā is named only in three places.¹ Upēndra Bhañja rarely mentions her in his voluminous compositions. In Mathurā-Maṅgaḷa two cantos are devoted to Rādhā (28th and 29th); but otherwise she is mentioned in three places only. In Bhūpati Paṇḍita's Prēmapañcāmṛta, the divine importance of Rādhā had been fully established, but other Gōpīs are still given some prominence. In the two latest poets, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā, and Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra, Rādhā-worship superseded even Kṛṣṇa, and the other Gōpīs sank into insignificance. Their poems are full of her praises.

The other tendency in the selection of the subject-matter was towards fiction, purely imaginary stories as distinguished from the mythological. This fictional element was less strong, and appeared later both in Sanskrit and Vernacular. Imaginary tales were usually of two kinds, viz., a collection of short tales strung together by a slight connecting thread, or a continuous story with a hero and a heroine. In Sanskrit several examples of the first kind may be found, such as the Pañcatantra and its variant the Hitōpadēṣa, the Brhatkathā (as known in the version Kathāsaritsāgara), and Daṣakumāracarita, with which may be compared the Buddhistic Jātaka stories and the Sanskrito-Buddhistic Avadānakalpalatā. In Oṛiyā such a type is wanting. The nearest approach to it is to be found in Dīnakṛṣṇa's Pratāpasindhu which is a collection of maxims and short stories like the Pañcatantra. The other kind which is best exemplified in Sanskrit by Subandhu's Vāsavadattā and Bāna's Kādambarī, found a more fruitful soil in Oṛiyā. Upēndra Bhañja composed some twenty romances, while the

one, (for enjoyment) they appeared before in two separate bodies. They two have now appeared in one named Caitanya. Him, so full of Rādhā's sentiments and brightness, and so filled with Kṛṣṇa's attributes, I salute."

¹ Rasakallōḷa 10th Ch. l. 10 (cf. ls. 1-16); 20th Ch. l. 18 (cf. 1-24); 31st Ch. l. 1, (cf. ls. 1-18 30th Ch.).

poems of Lōkanātha and the three early poems of Abhimanyu are purely fictional. Poems of similar nature are also mentioned in Hunter's list, such as Balabhadra Bhañja's Bhābabatī, Haricandra Dēva's Līlābatī, Padmaḷābha Dēva's Prabhābatī. Their contents are however yet unknown.

The framework of the romances is practically so uniform that it may be generalised by the following sketch. The story opens with the description of a beauteous girl attending on Pārvatī or Rādhā (Lakṣmī) in the heaven. Some prince (occasionally a Ṛṣi) sees her and falls in love with her who returns his love. For this Pārvatī or Rādhā curses her to take birth as woman; but on her entreaties changes the curse to human life with the lover as husband. The girl is born as a princess, and the lover as a prince. Their childhood and youth are then described. The one hears of the other, and falls in love. After some manœuvring they meet and fall more deeply in love. This gradually leads to marriage (occasionally Gāndharva marriage). A few months are spent in happiness, and then the lovers are separated by a *deus ex machina*. Each is obliged to live one year apart from the other. Several cantos then describe the griefs of the lovers and their passionate outbursts as one season passes and the other arrives. By grace of the goddess they are re-united and henceforth live a happy life. They become king and queen, and after death are taken back into the heavens.

The next head is **versification** which includes the prosody, the selection of words and their signification—in short the outer frame of poetry as distinguished from the inner spirit. An Oṛiyā poem is divided into parts which are named Chānda (canto); and the Chānda is divided into pādas (stanzas) that are made up of two to six lines. All the lines rhyme; blank verses are unknown. The pādas can often be scanned according to rules of Sanskrit prosody, but sometimes they are not. This arises from the fact that all Oṛiyā poetry, if not translations of Sanskrit religious works, are intended to be sung, and not simply to be read. Hence many pādas cannot be scanned, if simply read; while in singing there arises no difficulty, as the vowels may be shortened or lengthened according to the convenience of the singer. For this reason too, the Chāndas are much shorter than the cantos of Sanskrit classics, not generally containing more than a hundred pādas. Each Chānda is also set to a tune. These tunes are largely Sanskritic, but have also a fair number of local airs, as I have already pointed out under the head of songs.

As regards the selection and signification of words the Oṛiyā poets follow the rules of Sanskrit rhetoric as closely as the language permits.

Hence verbal formations and word jingles, which are reckoned as excellences in Sanskrit rhetorics, freely abound. The entire canto, or the entire poem begins every line with the one and same letter, as *ka*, *ba*, *ca*; or each stanza begins with the consecutive letters of the alphabet (*a* to *kṣa*); or they have lines without any vowel except *a* or without any conjunct consonants at all. Alliterations, and other kinds of repetitions of the same letters or group of letters (*yamakas* or *anuprāsas*) are lavishly used. Similes (*upamās*), metaphors (*rūpakas*), opposite meanings (*virōdhabhāṣas*), double and triple meanings, allusions to and analogies from Sanskrit classics are scattered “thick as leaves in Vallombrosa.” The Oṛiyā language being too simple and too undeveloped to bear so much ornamentation, the poets have borrowed profusely from the immense vocabulary of Sanskrit with its numberless synonyms, antonyms and compound formations. The wild luxuriance of these rhetorical forms in Oṛiyā poetry it is impossible to describe; but some idea may be formed by studying the *Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī* of Upēndra Bhañja and the *Bidagdha* *cintāmaṇi* of Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra.

Many of these formations are real poetic excellences, and many a line show pretty conceits, surprising fancies, appropriate illustrations, or happy combinations of words. They generally indicate a fairly complete mastery over Sanskrit rules and vocabulary. One’s admiration is further enhanced, when he takes into consideration the imperfections of the vernacular and the general ignorance of the mass. At the same time the inordinate use of unfamiliar words and word-combinations and the constant straining after mere verbal excellences have produced various defects, such as unintelligibility, artificiality, over-ornamentation, and unsuccessful formations. Hardly any poem can be understood without a *ṭīkā* or commentary, and hence the lines lose the force and the vividness of impression that common familiar words would have conveyed. Then again the too exclusive attention to ornamentation of words—the mere husk and shell of poetry—has led to the neglect of the inner essence, and has made the poets careless about the natural development of plots, the evolution of characters, or the enframing of high thoughts.

Hence under the third head—the **sentiment**—the workmanship was in general crude, incoherent and not elevating. The ideal followed was that adopted in the later Sanskrit classics (*Naiṣadha*, *Çiçupālavadhā*). This Sanskrit ideal was defective compared with modern standard. Humour was wanting entirely. Vigor and energy were absent in the male characters, and a low view of women was inculcated. The characters were not properly and consistently developed. The action of the

external events on human feelings and thoughts was not often painted in a careful or powerful fashion. On account of the low view of women, obscene descriptions crept in, descriptions which would not be tolerated in any modern works. All these defects were intensified in the Oṛiyā poems. Obscenities were multiplied. The hero becomes an unnatural man, selfish, exclusively bent on gratifying his sensual passions, and bursting into tears or passionate outbursts at slight obstacles. The heroine is painted with the same brush, impatient, without any self-restraint or self-sacrificing spirit so well-known in Indian wives and mothers, and as much inclined as the hero to gratify the physical desires. In truth the Oṛiyā poets busied themselves so much with polishing and decorating the outer frame, that they quite neglected to develop the inner spirit.

DĪNAKṚṢṆA DĀSA.

With these general remarks, I now proceed to discuss the poets individually. The earliest poet is Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa. Very little is known about him. According to traditions gathered at Purī, Dīnakṛṣṇa is older than Upēndra Bhañja. The latter's Baidēhīsaḥiṣaḥiṣa is said to have been modelled after Rasakallōḷa; and when the similarity was pointed out to Upēndra by his father, he composed his well-known poem Lābaṇyabatī. A couplet is repeated in which Dīnakṛṣṇa questions as an elder poet, and Upēndra replies obediently as a younger poet. A pair of couplets are repeated in which Upēndra Bhañja refers with respect to Dīnakṛṣṇa.¹ A consideration of the style and the subject-matter lends support to this traditional priority of Dīnakṛṣṇa. Upēndra Bhañja flourished about the end of the seventeenth century; Dīnakṛṣṇa's date might therefore be taken as the third quarter of that century. He cannot be much older. For apart from tradition, his Rasakallōḷa refers to Rukmaṇī Cautisā which is evidently based on Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgabata—a work of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This fact points to a difference of at least one hundred years between Jagannātha Dāsa and the author of Rasakallōḷa.

¹ उपेन्द्र बीरवर टेकि वेनि वाहाकु ।

रवितले कविपणे न गणइ काहाकु ॥

जयदेव दीनकृष्ण पादे मोर शरण ।

आउ सबु कविङ्कर माथे वाम चरण ॥

“Bīrabara Upēndra, raising his arms, deems none a real poet under the sun. I pay my obeisance at the feet of Jayadēva and Dīnakṛṣṇa, but put my left leg on the heads of all the other poets.”

According to Purī traditions, he was a Bhaṛu-ā, an illegitimate class attending on dancing girls and playing on musical instruments in accompaniment to their dancing and singing. He led at first a struggling life, and later on became a Vaiṣṇava. He is said to have resided at Purī and died there. Corroboration of these facts is found in his works. His illegitimacy partially explains his great humility, and probably led him to select Vasiṣṭha as the speaker in his *Pratāpasindhu*. Vasiṣṭha was known to the author as the son of a prostitute.¹ His Vaiṣṇavite tendency and his residence at Purī his works fully show. For unknown reasons he was absent from Purī for some time, as a couple of stanzas² in the *Rasakallōḷa* would seem to indicate. He knew Jagannātha and his daily services intimately.³ *Dīnakṛṣṇa* is said not to be his original name, but to have been given at the time of his initiation as a Vaiṣṇava.

Dīnakṛṣṇa composed several works, of which I have seen in

¹ The poet remarks that every object in this world has some defect or other :—

निकलङ्क पद्म के पारु गच्छि (?) ।

कलङ्क पुणि सवुठारे अछि ॥ १०६ ॥

“Who can find out a nelumbium without stain? Blots are found in every object.”

Then he goes on illustrating this. After quoting several examples he says :—

वसिष्ठ ऋषिङ्क कलङ्क अछि ।

वेश्यापुत्र वोलि समस्त वाछि ॥ १०६ ॥ *Pratāpasindhu* MS., Fol. 14.

“(Even) Vasiṣṭha Ṛṣi has his blot. He is known to all as a prostitute’s son.”

² करिथिला आश, से छेत्रे निवास,

करिवाकु दीनछुण ।

कि अभाग्यु तहिँ, न पारिला रहि,

प्रभु नोहिले सट्ठण ॥ २६ ॥

कर्मे थिला याहा, भोग हिला ताहा,

के ताहा करिव आन ।

करमकरता, कइवल्यदाता,

येवे नोहिले प्रसन्न ॥ २७ ॥ R. K., 24th Ch., p. 89.

“To reside in that *kṣētra* (land), *Dīnakṛṣṇa* had wished; what bad fate is his—he could not stay there, the Lord not favouring. [26]. What was in his fate, he has to suffer. Who can do otherwise, if fate’s master, the giver of salvation, smileth not upon him? [27].”

³ *Rasakallōḷa*, 19th Ch., 14–24; *Guṇḍicābijē*, and others.

manuscript *Pratāpasindhu*, and in print *Rasakallōḷa*, *Guṇḍicābijē* and *Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā*.¹ *Guṇḍicābijē* describes the car festival of Jagannātha; *Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā* is a prayer to Jagannātha for deliverance. *Pratāpasindhu* is larger and occupies in manuscript 131 folios with three lines on each page. The poem purports to have been delivered by the sage Vasiṣṭha in answer to Daṣaratha. It contains maxims mostly culled from Sanskrit, with illustrative examples and stories. Occasionally Sanskrit ślōkas are quoted and translated. The versification is simple and has no special merit. Among maxims a very low view of woman's reliability is prominent.

It is on *Rasakallōḷa* that Dīnakṛṣṇa's fame rests. The work is in 34 Chāndas with 20 to 99 stanzas in each. Its subject-matter is the early pastoral life of Ārī-Kṛṣṇa and is based on the 10th Skandha of the Bhāgavata. The first Chānda is introductory; the 2nd to 10th deal with the birth and adolescence of Kṛṣṇa; 11th to 17th describe the various seasons beginning with winter and the amorous sports of Ārī-Kṛṣṇa with the Gōpīs in each season; 18th to 24th poetise the Rasalīlā or the dance and dalliance of Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpīs in the groves of Bṛndābana; 25th to 29th narrate his march to Mathurā and the slaying of its demon king Kāmsa; the last five cantos are taken up in describing the griefs of Kṛṣṇa and of the Gōpīs on account of separation, and the embassy of Urdhaba to Bṛndābana under orders of Kṛṣṇa. The plot is thus familiar to most and appeals strongly to the religious instinct of the highly conservative Oṛiyās.

In versification the peculiarity of *Rasakallōḷa* is that every line of a stanza begins with one and same letter *ka*—a very difficult task in the case of a whole poem. On the whole, however, the sentences are more intelligible than in many poems of Upēndra Bhañja. Good descriptions of natural sceneries, though of the conventional type, are not rare; while poetical passages reckoned excellences according to the rules of Sanscrit rhetorics, abound.² Some of the closing lines are personal,

¹ Hunter's list names nine more:—Cakradharabilāsa, Madhusudanabilāsa, Madhabakara Gītā, Bāramāsa Kō-īlī, Jagamōhana, Sāmudrika, Guṇa Sāgara, Ujjvalānīlamanīkārikā, Rādhā Kanaca (?), Dvādasakuñjalīlā, and Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Baḷi. I have seen in print Bāramāsa Kō-īlī; it is not Dīna Kṛṣṇa's. I have also seen in manuscript a Guṇa Gnyāna Sāgara of one Bhābi-ā Dāsa. Some of the works enumerated, such as the medical works, are not probably of Dīnakṛṣṇa.

² For some of the rhetorically fine passages the reader may be referred to the description of the various seasons (11th, 12th, 15th and 17th Chāndas), and to the description of Rādhā's beauty (10th Chānda). In mere rhetorical excellences, however, the author cannot vie with Upēndra Bhañja or Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra.

and are much soberer and often forcible. Two such passages which are free from obscenity are extracted to give an idea of his poetry.

1. कोटिए कोटि कौटे मूँ एक ।
 केते मोर बुद्धि केते विवेक ॥ ३० ॥
 केअवा लेखिव गगन तारा ।
 केअवा गणिव बरषाधारा ॥
 के संख्या करिव सिन्धुलहरी ।
 के पारिव पयोनिधि पहुँरि ॥
 केअवा एहा करि पारिव ।
 दृष्टा महिमा कहि न पारिव ॥ ३१ ॥

R. K. 5th Chānda, p. 16.

“In the midst of crores after crores of insects I am only one. How little is my intelligence, my power of moral discrimination. [30]. Who can write out the stars of the sky; who can count the raindrops; who can take stock of the sea waves; who can dare swim across the ocean? even this may be possible; but the glory of Kṛṣṇa none can describe. [31].”

2. कलि ये तुम्ह नाम कुसुम, यतन करि माळा सुसम
 ताहा मूलाइ नेवाकु केहि नोहिले क्षम हे ।
 केवल माळाकार पराये मूहँत न घेनिलि थोकाए
 के अछि नेव काहा करम एडे उत्तम हे ॥
 केहि नाहिँ वेष्टित धम्मिल्लवन्त ये ।
 करिवाकु ए माळ कण्ठे लम्बित हे ।
 करुछि मने विचार एते, जगत याक अकृन्ति येते
 सामवेदिङ्ग ब्रत वेश ए हेले सन्तत ये । २७ ।

R. K. 16th Chānda, p. 63.

“(Oh Lord!) The name-flowers of thine I have strung with care into a lovely wreath, which none is so fit to take by paying its equivalent. Like the wreath-maker, I myself could not take even a part; who so fortunate, that would take it? None there is all round so braided-haired (*i.e.*, blessed), that can put this garland round his neck. Thus am I, thinking in my mind,—the people of this world have constantly become habited like the Sāmabēdist, (*i.e.* shavelings, and therefore unfit to put on the garland). [27].”

BHAKTACARAṆA DĀSA.

As Mathurāmangala appears to be a supplement of Rasakallōḷa that work will be taken up here, though strictly it might be somewhat later than Upēndra Bhañja's poems. The author calls himself Bhaktacarana Dāsa. No traditions are available about him. He repeatedly calls himself a bairāgi.¹ He probably visited Purī, for he mentions the "Guṇḍicābijē" of Jagannātha (10th Chānda, stanza 6). The name Bhaktacarana seems to be an adopted name after initiation into Vaiṣṇavism.

The Mathurāmangala is a poem in 30 Chāndas with 14 to 106 stanzas in each. The subject-matter is the exploits of Āṇi-Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. These exploits have been described in Rasakallōḷa, 25th to 33rd Chāndas, but is here amplified into 29 cantos. Hence this poem appears to be later, though from the prominence still given to Gōpīs generally, it could not have been much later. Its date might be approximately put to the first quarter of the 18th century. In versification and sentiment the author appears to have closely imitated the Rasakallōḷa. The verses are simpler, and less loaded with Sanskrit words; but have on the whole much less poetical excellences than in Dīnakṛṣṇa's poem. The author is rather peculiar in heaping similes to illustrate the same idea, an example of which is quoted below² :—

कृष्ण वोलन्ति शुण रमणीवृन्द ।
 कर्पूर समान कि भास्वर गन्ध गो ।
 पद्म समान काहिँ हेव कुटज ।
 समान कला लोक सिना निर्लज्ज । १० ।
 पाट टसर काहिँ समान मूळ ।
 हीरा सङ्गे स्फटिक हेव कि तूळ ।
 पित्तळ नोहे कळधउत सम ।
 चन्द्र पारुषे काहिँ रहिव तम ॥ ११ ॥
 सेहि प्रकारे केहि मथुरानारी ।
 से हेवे तुम्ह केउं गुणरे सरि ।

Math. Maṇ. 8th Chānda, p. 23.

"Kṛṣṇa said—"Hear, oh ye ladies! Can *bhāskara* (the ordinary camphor) smell as well as *Āṇi-karpura* (the essence of camphor); can

¹ Math. Maṇ. 3rd Ch. 26; 13th Ch. 16; 15th Ch. 22; 18th Ch. 16; 23rd Ch. 54; 29th Ch. 38.

² For another example of such heaping, see 9th Chānda 11-15, p. 26.

the wild flower bear comparison to the nelumbium? The man that puts them on the same level must be shameless. [10]. Can jute have the same value as silk; can glass be compared to diamond? Brass cannot be equal to silver; darkness cannot stay where the moon is. Similarly what ladies of Mathurā can equal ye (Gōpa girls)?”

BHŪPATI PAṆḌITA.

The early Oṛiyā poems about Kṛṣṇa may be completed with Bhūpati Paṇḍita's Prēmapañcāmṛta. In the last Adhyāya of that work the author gives an account of himself.¹ A Sārasvata Brāhmin from up-country he came to Orissa and attended the court of the king Divyasimha Dēva. His poetical talents so much pleased the king that he gave him land with cash. He resided at Rathipura Kaṭaka. Caitanya Dāsa, a Vaiṣṇava at Purī was his great friend, and under his instructions he composed the poem. Its writing was finished on Monday evening, the çukla trayōdaçī of the month makara, 18th aṅka of the king Dibyasimha Dēva. According to Prof. Jacobi's Tables taken with Mādala Pāñji,² makara çukla trayōdaçī fell on Monday, the 3rd February, 1707 A.D. Bhūpati Paṇḍita is thus a contemporary of Upendra Bhañja.

The Prēmapañcāmṛta is a religious poem in ten Adhyāyas, and has been printed. It describes the rasaliḷā of Çrī-Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpīs, but the original story has been amplified by the description of an imaginary pilgrimage of Vasudēva (7th Adhy.) and by metaphysical disquisitions of the Caitanya's school. The lines are bald and generally unornamented. The versification is of the style adopted by Jagannātha Dāsa in his Bhāgabata. An extract is given here to show the author's conceptions about Rādhā:—

परम आत्मा भगवान् । राधिका जीव आत्मा जाण ॥ ३ ॥
 राधिका अंशे येते गोपी । से कृष्ण जीवन स्वरूपी ॥ ४ ॥
 परमे मिशि पारे जीव । आनकु अटे असम्भव ॥ ५ ॥
 जीव परम एक जाण । भोग संयोगे भिन्न भिन्न ॥ ६ ॥
 येसने बीज वेनिफाळ । एक से नुहन्ति युगळ ॥ ७ ॥
 दि अर्द्ध एक पूर्ण होइ । एणु से एक अङ्ग दुइ ॥ ८ ॥
 ये पारे गोपी अङ्गे पशि । से पारे कृष्ण अङ्गे मिशि ॥ ९ ॥

2nd Adhyāya, p. 11.

¹ The passage (10th Adhyāya lines 194–238), though long is interesting, and is given *in extenso* in App. III.

² See App. IV. for “the later kings of Khōrdā” beginning with this Divyasimha Dēva.

“Bhagabāna is the *parama ātmā* (the Highest Being); Rādhikā is *Jīva ātmā* (the Individual Being). [3]. The Gōpīs in the Rādhikā's portion, are but so much life of Kṛṣṇa. [4]. The Individual can be absorbed into the Highest (*i.e.* the Infinite); for others, this is impossible. [5]. Know that the Individual and the Infinite are one (in essence), and different only in enjoyment and union. [6]. Just as a seed is bilobed; but really single and not double; [7], both halves forming one whole, and hence one body divided into two. [8]. He who can get into the body of the Gōpīs, can get absorbed into the body of Kṛṣṇa. [9].”

UPĒNDRA BHAÑJA.

The fictional school begins with UPĒNDRA BHAÑJA. He is the most famous of Oṛiyā poets. His time can be ascertained approximately. In his Rasalēkhā he wrote—

दिव्य सिंह गजपति अङ्क सप्त विंशति
शेषदिने शेष एह गीत ।

R. L. 22nd Chānda, l. 17, p. 96.

“This poem was finished on the last date of the 27th Aṅka of the Gajapati king Divyasimha.” Divyasimha began to rule in 1692-93,¹ and his 27th Aṅka or 21st year fell in 1713-4 A.D. The last date of the aṅka (simha çukla ēkādaçī) was 21st August, 1714 A.D., a Tuesday. As Rasalēkhā appears to have been one of his later poems, Upēndra Bhañja may be said to have flourished in the beginning of the 18th century.

He belonged to the royal family of Gumusara. Gumusara is a petty hill state forming the north-westernmost corner of the District Ganjām, Presidency Madras. The surname Bhañja was the patronymic title of the family. The author names his ancestors in Rasapañcaka last page as follows² :—

¹ For a discussion of his reign see App. IV. “The later kings of Khōrdā.”

² कञ्जेश वंश, होइ प्रकाश । क्रमे घुसुसरे हेले नरेश ॥ १६ ॥

कुन्देन्दुकीर्ति, रणरण कान्ति । रणेश्वर रणभञ्ज नृपति ॥

हशानु तेज, ताङ्क तनुज । हतर प्रताप प्रतापभञ्ज ॥ १७ ॥

कनिष्ठ सूत, ताङ्क भूभट । करि गोपौनाथ नाम विदित ॥

कवि नृपवर, ताङ्क कुमर । कहि धनञ्जय नाम ताङ्कर ॥ १८ ॥

काश्यपीकान्त, ताङ्काङ्क सूत । हतञ्ज नीलकण्ठ भञ्जसुत ॥

कुमर ज्येष्ठ, ताङ्कर श्रेष्ठ । कविपणरे अति परिनिष्ठ ॥ १९ ॥

1. Raṇa Bhañja
|
son
2. Pratāpa Bhañja
|
youngest son
3. Gōpinātha
|
son
4. Dhanañjaya
|
son
5. Nīlakaṇṭha
married Kāsyapī
|
eldest son
6. Upēndra Bhañja.

The Gumusara Baṁsābalī does not mention Upēndra Bhañja, but names his ancestors up to Nīlakaṇṭha. In a colorless manner it narrates a series of intrigues and murders, revolts and civil wars, startling enough even for a melodrama.¹ Dhanañjaya, the grandfather of Upēndra, ruled long, and in his old age like the emperor *Shāhjahān* turned sensual. He married several wives who had numerous children. When the Rājā became too old, his queens with their sons began to quarrel amongst themselves. The old man, Dhanañjaya, was poisoned by his favourite queen Hāru Dē-i, and his death brought on a civil war. Upēndra's father, Nīlakaṇṭha, who was his son by the above Hāru Dē-i, succeeded in seizing the throne. But he could rule only for two years. He was attacked on both sides by the partisans of the eldest queen's infant grandson, and was driven out of the kingdom.

Upēndra Bhañja was the eldest son of this unfortunate Nīlakaṇṭha. In all probability he was old enough to have participated in the

“The family of sun (lotus' master) appearing, gradually became kings in Gumusara. [16]. With fame white like moon and *Kunda* flower, with glory bright, master of battles, appeared the King Raṇa Bhañja. Of him was born Pratāpa Bhañja, fiery in vigor, from deeds powerful. [17]. His youngest son, by name Gōpinātha, became King. His son was named Dhanañjaya, the poet King. [18]. His son was Nīlakaṇṭha Bhañja the good, the grateful, the husband of Kāsyapī. His eldest and best prince (am I), well-grounded in poetical powers. [19].”

Some of these successions are also mentioned in *Lābanyabatī*, 16th Chānda, stanzas 39-42, p. 65, and *Baidēhisabilāsa* 52nd Ch. lines 47-50, p. 536.

¹ The portion of the Baṁsābalī bearing on Upēndra's ancestors is quoted in *extenso* in App. V.

fratricidal struggle.¹ After expulsion Nīlakaṇṭha settled, according to tradition, in the adjoining state of Nayāgara. In that state how long Upēndra resided is not known. He visited the Puruṣōttama Kṣētra apparently frequently, as he knew it intimately.² Outside Orissa he might have travelled, of which travel some faint indications are traceable in his poems. By religion he was a Vaiṣṇavite, leaning to Rāma-worship, as his numerous closing lines and the Baidēhisabīlāsa the poem on the career of Rāma testify.

Upēndra Bhañja was a prolific author and composed some forty-three poems. The chronological sequence of these works cannot generally be ascertained. Probably most of the songs were among his earliest compositions, and Caupadibhūṣaṇa is referred to in the early contemporaneous work, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa. Baidēhisabīlāsa, according to tradition preceded the Lābanyabatī. The Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī seems to be a work of matured years. The Citrakābya was composed much later and in its introduction refers to a large number of works, thus establishing a broad line of demarcation in point of time.³

¹ The following stanza in Rasikahārābaṭī (8th Ch. 25th stanza) might have some reference to his father's loss of the throne:—

राजाङ्गु हेवार राज्य नष्ट । युवाङ्गु हेवार पत्नीभ्रष्ट ॥
कहे उपेन्द्र, बीरबर भञ्ज, एथुं वलि आउ नाहि कष्ट ॥ २५ ॥

“For a king to lose his kingdom, for a young man to lose his wife—says Upēndra Bhañja Bīrabara—no misfortune can be greater than these. [25].”

² Upēndra translated the Puruṣōttama Māhātmya, and composed the Rasikahārābaṭī, a romance of that place. The Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī also begins with a description of Jagannātha's temple and festivals.

³ एणु ए कवि विचारइ चिते । कलि मू अनेक प्रकाश गिते । ९ ।
अशेष चउतिशा चउपदि । ताहा केतेटि कहिवि सम्पादि । १० ।
गाहा दोहा षोडचेन्दु कपोइ । इत्यादि कविल गणना नाहि । ११ ।
रसकृष्णविषय येते ग्रन्थ । चितोइ तहं किक्कि लेखे येथ । १२ ।
पुराण कांकि कल्पना माधुरि । चारु चित्रलेखा हेममञ्जरी । १३ ।
रसलेखा कामकळा रचित । मनोरमा प्रेमलता सुगित । १४ ।
भाववती मुक्तावती प्रमाण । वरजलीळा ये कान्दभूषण । १५ ।
षड्वहनु कळाकउतुकर । कनियम साद्य सुभद्रासार । १६ ।
वैदेहीश विळास सेहि वाद्य । प्रसिद्ध अवनना द्वादश कान्द । १७ ।
रामलीळामृत श्लेष रचित । प्रेमसुधानिधि यमके स्थित । १८ ।
रसिकहारावली नामे गीत । कुञ्जविहारादि श्यामचरित । १९ ।
अळङ्कार रीति रसपञ्चक । लावणवती रसिकतोषक । २० ।
पुरुषोत्तम माहात्म्य रचन । नाना कोष शब्दे गीताभिधान । २१ ।

Thirty-two poems are herein named. In addition Hunter's list specifies the following :—Candrakalā, Candrarēkhā, Icchābatī, Kaḷābatī, Rahāsa-līlā, Rasamañjarī, Saṅgītakaumudī, Sasirēkhā, Sōbhābatī and Subarṇa-rēkhā. The last I have seen, and in one passage it admits its posterity by referring to Rasikahārābaḷī and Prēmasudhānidhi.¹

All these works cannot be discussed in detail in this limited article, but their subject-matters may be classified in the following way :—

A. Songs :—

1. Cautisā (चउनिशा).
2. Caupadibhūṣaṇa (चउपदीभूषण).

छान्द कोटि तारा चन्द्रमा परि । या नाम कोटिव्रह्माण्डसुन्दरी । २२ ।

त्रैलोक्यमोहिनी आदि ये गीत । निर्मित छान्द पोथि पाञ्च सात । २३ ।

... ..

एते प्रकारे करि छान्द गीत । चित्र कवित्वे बळादला चित्त । २७ ।

Citrakāvya MS. Folio 1.

“The poet thus thinks in his mind—many pieces did I publish in poetry. [9]. No end of *Cautisās* and *Caupadīs*, what more can I say on them? [10]. *Gāhā*, *dōhā*, *sōḍacēndu chapō-i*, and other poems that cannot be counted. [11]. Of works on *rasa* and on Kṛṣṇa recollecting, I name here some. [12]. Sifting the Purāṇas, such works of sweet imagination, as the fine *Citralēkhā*, the *Hēmamañjarī* [13]; the *Rasalēkhā*, the well-composed *Kāmakaḷā*, the *Manōramā*, and the well-versified *Prēmalatā* [14], the *Bhābabatī*, the well-exemplified *Muktābatī*, the *Barajalīlā*, the *Chāndabhāṣaṇa* [15], the *Ṣaṛartu*, the *ka*-initialled *Kaḷākautuka*, the *sa*-initialled *Subhadrāsāra* [16], the *ba*-initialled *Baidēhīsabilāsa*, the well-known twelve chandas without any consonant or vowels conjunctions [17], the *Rāmalīlāmṛta* full of many meanings, the *Prēmasudhānidhi* full of alliterations [18], the poem named *Rasika-hārābaḷī*, the lives of Syāma as *Kuñjabihāra* and others [19], the *Rasapañcaka* illustrating rules of rhetoric, the *Lābaṇyabatī* the delight of wits [20], the composition of the *Puruṣōttamamāhātmya*, the various dictionaries of words as the *Gitābhīdhāna* [21], the *Kōṭībrahmāṇḍasundarī* like a moon among millions of poetical stars [22], the poems beginning with the *Trailōkyamōhinī*; some such five or seven poems have I composed [23]. Having composed poems of so many kinds, my thoughts strayed towards illustrated poetry [27].”

¹ पाञ्च छान्दे शेष होइला ए रस करिव रसिक वश ।

हे जने प्रेमसुधानिधि रसिकहारावळीर ए शेष । १८ ।

सुवर्णरेखार वणैना येतेक रसे एऊ तिनि गीत ।

कहे उपेन्द्र भञ्ज वीरवर अनुभव ए विदित । १९ ।

Sub. Rēk., 5th Chānda.

“This *rasa* comes to its end in five cantos; it will sway the wits. Oh men! Here is finished the *Prēmasudhānidhi*, and the *Rasikahārābaḷī*. [18]. All the *rasas* in the descriptions of the *Suvarṇarēkhā* are to be found in the three poems; this is felt and known—so says Upēndra Bhañja Bīrabara [19].”

3. Caupadicandra (चउपदौचन्द्र).
4. Chapō-i (छपोइ).
5. Gāhā (गाहा).
6. Dōhā (दोहा).

B. Mythological poems :—

7. Abanā Rasataranga (अवना रसतरङ्ग).
8. Brajalīlā (ब्रजलीला).
9. Subhadrāsāra or Subhadrāpariṇaya (सुभद्रासार वा सुभद्रापरिणय).
10. Kaḷākautuka (कळाकौतुक).
11. Baidēhisabilāsa (वैदेहीशबिलास).
12. Rāmalīlāmṛta (रामलीलामृत).
13. Kuñjabihāra (कुञ्जबिहार).
14. Puruṣōttama Māhātmya (पुरुषोत्तम माहात्म्य).
15. Rāhāsalilā (राहासलीला).

C. Fictional poems :—

16. Citralēkhā (चित्रलेखा).
17. Hēmamañjarī (हेममञ्जरी).
18. Rasalēkhā (रसलेखा).
19. Kāmakaḷā (कामकळा).
20. Manōramā (मनोरमा).
21. Prēmalatā (प्रेमलता).
22. Bhābabatī (भाववती).
23. Muktabatī (मुक्तावती).
24. Prēmasudhānidhi (प्रेमसुधानिधि).
25. Rasikahārābaḷī (रसिकहारावली).
26. Lābanyabatī (लावण्यवती).
27. Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī (कोटिव्रह्माण्डसुन्दरी).
28. Trailōkyamōhinī (त्रैलोक्यमोहिनी).
29. Candrakaḷā (चन्द्रकळा).
30. Candrarēkhā (चन्द्ररेखा).
31. Icchābatī (इच्छावती).
32. Kaḷābatī (कळावती).
33. Sasirēkhā (शशीरेखा).
34. Sōbhābatī (शोभावती).
35. Subarnarēkhā (सुवर्णरेखा).

D. Rhetorical, etc. :—

36. Chāndabhūṣaṇa (चान्दभूषण).
37. Rasapañcaka (रसपञ्चक).
38. Citrakābya (चित्रकाव्य).
39. Rasamañjarī (रसमञ्जरी).

40. *Saṅgītakāumudī* (सङ्गीतकौमुदी).

41. *Gītābhīdhāna* (गीताभिधान).

42. *Śaṛartu* (षड्चतु).

It will be seen that 20 out of 42 or nearly half are romances. To Upēndra Bhañja belongs the credit of having been the first to shake off largely the predominating religious tendency. This comparative freedom seems to have arisen partly from his birth in a royal family and partly from his vicissitudes in life, now a prince and now an exile. His stories are no doubt confined to princes or high ministers, and thus belong to the primitive stage of story-telling. Yet they are preferable to the dreary repetitions of mythological absurdities.

As a master of rhetorical excellences he stands higher than all Oṛiyā poets except Abhimanyu. He knew intimately the Sanskrit rules of elegance, and was a successful follower of the standard set up in the later Sanskrit classics. He was an adept in all kinds of Oṛiyā verses, writing freely and fully. He was a master-hand in vocabulary and letter-selection. Sometimes he wrote poems without any admixture of vowels other than *a*, e.g., *Abanā Rasatarāṅga*; sometimes he limited the initial letters of each line to one letter only, such as *ba* in *Baidēhīsa-bilāsa*, *ka* in *Kalākautuka*, *sa* in *Subhadrāpariṇaya*. Sometimes he used *Jamakas* throughout a poem, as *Prēmasudhānidhi*; while *Kōṭi-brahmāṇḍasundarī* sparkles with numerous varieties of rhetorical gems. In spite of innumerable lines of unequal merits due to his prolificness and constant attempt to play on words, a large number of passages contain verbal excellences fit to stand the fierce light of modern criticism. By intermixing numberless unfamiliar Sanskrit words and allusions, the text has however been generally made unintelligible to the ordinary readers, and to most of his poems explanatory *ṭīkā*s are absolutely necessary. Hence in spite of his rhetorical skill, his poems rarely move the heart, or add to one's knowledge about nature or the human mind.

On the question of sentiments he does not rise above his age. Wanting in energy and lifelikeness the heroes and heroines move like puppets. The low view of women common to the age and to the models followed still further degenerates in his poems; and obscene descriptions abound. Ethical doctrines are generally at a discount in royal families, and in Upēndra Bhañja's case the grandfather's sensuality appears to have had a still worse effect.

To summarise, Upēndra Bhañja is in Oṛiyā language, the most voluminous author, the earliest and most prominent fictional poet, the most obscene, the most unintelligible, and on the whole the best writer of rhetorical excellences. His most important works are first *Baidēhīsa-*

biḷāsa on the career of Rāma up to Uttarākāṇḍa;¹ second Lābaṇyabatī, narrating the story of the princess Lābaṇyabatī and the prince Candrabhānu; third Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī, a romance with the princess of the above name as heroine; and fourth Rasapañcaka, illustrating by Oṛiyā songs the rhetorical rules about Nāyakas, Nāyikās and their loves, and following mainly the corresponding text of the Bengali *alaṃkara*, Sāhitya Darpaṇ. A passage from Baidēhisabiḷāsa is extracted lower down, but no single passage can give any reliable idea of the many-sided talents of this poet.

BISVANĀTHA KHUṆṬI-Ā.

Such a talented poet as Upēndra must influence later poetry. On the religious side his Baidēhisabiḷāsa found an imitator in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā. This author appears to have been a resident of Purī. His surname Khuṇṭi-ā is applied to a special class of sēbakas in the Jagannātha temple, and the poem begins with a brief description of Jagannātha's festivals. His date is not precisely known. In his introduction he refers to the king Divyasimha, who reigned from 1692-93 to 1719-20 A.D.² He also refers to Upēndra Bhañja's Caupadībhūṣaṇa,³ which is probably among Bhañja's earliest works. Approximately therefore the date of Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa may be put in the decade 1710-20 A.D.

The poem, as its name implies, is an adaptation of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, and differs from Baidēhisabiḷāsa in adding the Uttarākāṇḍa and in following more closely the story of the Sanskrit original. It is divided into generally very short cantos, and is therefore well adapted for singing. It is largely sung by dancing boys, and in old days was generally sung in the festival of Ṣrīrāma navamī, which occurs in

¹ Upēndra Bhañja did not poetise the Uttarākāṇḍa, because according to rules a poem should end happily and not in grief or death.

विभङ्ग रस वोलिण न वर्णिलि एते ।

बुधे वोलिक्लिन्ति एहा दोष कान्द गीते ॥ ४६ ॥

Baid. Bil., 52nd Ch., p. 535.

"I have not described this (Uttarā-kāṇḍa), because then the enjoyment of the *rasas* will be broken. The learned have said that this is a fault in *chānda* poetry."

² "श्री दीव्यसिंह गजपति श्रीजगन्नाथ श्रीचरणे भजे" "I pay my obeisance to Ṣrī-Divyasimha Gajapati and to the auspicious feet of Ṣrī-Jagannātha." Ch. I, l. 5, Ādikāṇḍa. For Dibya simha's reign, see App. IV, "The later kings of Khōrdā."

³ "राग आहारो । भङ्ग चउपदो भूषण नञ्चरो हते ।" Bic. Ram. Āraṇyaka, Kāṇḍa, Chānda 2nd's tune.

spring (Caitra). The Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa cannot bear comparison with the poem of Upēndra Bhañja in point of learning and rhetorical skill, but it is simpler, shorter, and more free from obscenity. To illustrate their differences, one passage on the Pampā tank is given below with the parallel passage from Baidēhisabīlāsa.

प्रवेश राम लक्ष्मण पम्पासर तीर । देखन्ति निर्मळ जळ अति मनोहर । १ ।
 कमळ कुमुद कोकनद नीळोत्पळ । मधुपाने मत्त होइ चुम्बन्ति भ्रसळ । २ ।
 चउपाशे वेडिक्कन्ति पुष्प तरुचय । विरहिजनकु से कराउक्कन्ति भय । ३ ।
 देख देख लक्ष्मण ए सरोवर शोभा । एहा देखि केवण देव नोहिव लोभा । ४ ।
 विविध हंसमानङ्गे दिशइ सुन्दर । डाऊक तितिर काक वके शोभाकर । ५ ।
 विकाशन्ति नव नव चूताङ्कुर माने । प्रकटि वासन्ति वास सर्व सन्निधाने । ६ ।
 कामतूणिशर प्राय दिशन्ति अशोक । सीताङ्क विच्छेद कराउक्कि व्हू शोक । ७ ।
 पाटळी पाटळ कामानळ प्राय दिशे । केतकी कळिका मनसिजकुन्त कि से । ८ ।
 मल्लिका सौरभरे मधुकरनिकर । ध्वनि करि खोजुक्कन्ति सर्व दिगन्तर । ९ ।
 मदगन्ध सुशीतळ प्रसरे मरुत । कोकिळ ध्वनि करन्ति होइ महामत्त । १० ।

Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa Chānda, I.

“Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa enter on the bank of the Pampā tank, and see its clear charming water. [1]. Drunk with honey, the black-bees are kissing the nelumbiums, the white lotuses, the large red lotuses, and the blue water-lilies. [2]. Trees and flowers surround it on four sides, and are causing fear in the hearts of the love-sick. [3]. See! See! Lakṣmaṇa, the beauty of this tank. At this sight which god will not be tempted? [4]. Charming it looks with diverse geese, with the water hens and partridges, with the crows and the cranes. [5]. The mango flowers are newly blooming, and are spreading their mild odour unto all. [6]. The *asōka* flowers look like the arrows of cupid's bow, and are grieving me for this separation from Sitā. [7]. The Bignolias shine like love-fire, while the Pandanus buds seem like the darts of love-god. [8]. The fragrance of the Jasmines is causing the bees to hum and to hunt about. [9]. The wind is spreading a cool intoxicating odour, the cuckoos are singing in full passion. [10].”

वाटे पम्पा सार सर । विराजित सारसर ।
 विराजित सारसर । वृषारि सर से । ४६ ।
 विधिरे हीन भ्रमर । विलसुक्कन्ति भ्रमर ।
 विलास यहि भ्रमर । वाज्जे अमर से । ५० ।

वारिरे आदरसरे । विमळ आदरशरे ।
 विवेक हंस मानस । वळि मानस ये । ५१ ।
 विध्वंस ताप स्पर्श । वड अतळ स्पर्श ।
 विनिद्र नीळ सारस । वहइ रस से । ५२ ।
 वाञ्छि टषार्त्ति कमळ । विघन तीरे कमळ ।
 विरचे भङ्गकु मुद । वज्र कुमुद ए । ५३ ।
 वुडि उठे चक्र चक्र । विहे गति यथा चक्र ।
 विनोदरे चक्रवाकी । विचक्रा कि से । ५४ ।

Baid. Bilā., Kiṣk. Kāṇḍa, 26th Ch., pp. 209-10.

“In the way lies Pampā, the tank of Indra, the best of tanks, which is graced by the long-necked cranes, and where bloom the Nelumbiums. [49]. This tank is by nature free from eddies, is enlivened by the black bees, is so delightful that the immortals are deluded to desire it. [50]. Its water is preferably more lucid than even a clean mirror, and (so good that) the geese think it better than that of even the Mānasa tank (beyond the Himālayas). [51]. Its water is so cool as to destroy all touch of heat, is very deep with flowering blue water-lilies, and is in taste as sweet as honey. [52]. The thirsty deers desiring a drink get satisfaction at the bank of this tank. The many white lotuses in it give much delight to the bees. [53]. The red ducks in it dip and rise, and delighted, whirl round in circles with their females, reminding the motion of dust storms. [54].”¹

LŌKANĀTHA DĀSA.

On the fictional side, too, Upēndra Bhañja's romances stimulated others, among whom Lōkanātha Dāsa appears to have been one of the earliest. His works have not yet been printed. I have seen in manuscript his Sarbāṅgasundarī and Hunter's list credits him with three more, Citrōt-paḷā, Parimaḷā and Rasakaḷā. The manuscript of Sarbāṅgasundarī takes up 63 folios with 4 lines on each page. It contains 15 Chāndas; apparently the last few Chāndas are missing. The story part resembles the general type of Upēndra Bhañja's romances, and the descriptions are also on the same line, though of course with much less poetical skill. The date is uncertain, probably the 2nd quarter of the 18th century.

¹ This short canto exemplifies the rhetorical excellence known as “the final alliteration” (*anta Jamakas*). The force and the jingle music of the *Jamakas*, it is impossible to show in the translation.

SADĀNANDA KAVISŪRYABRAHMĀ.

The last two poets are closely connected with each other, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā being the guru of Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra. Sadānanda founded a little math at Dikṣitapaṛā, Pargaṇā Asurēsvara, Thānā Sālēpura, District Cuttack. From its present Adhikāri most of the following informations have been gathered.¹ Sadānanda was born at Bhikāripura, Killā Nayāgaṛa, in the family of an Ōtā Brāhmin. In spite of the attempts of his parents he was a great dunce in his boyhood. When he grew older he felt repentance at his ignorance and prayed to the Īva Nakulēçvara of Nayāgaṛa. Through his favour he became suddenly inspired with poetical powers. Then he visited Purī, became a disciple of Gaṅgāmātā math, and secured from the Rājā of Purī the title Kavisūryabrahmā. His original name was probably Sādhucarāṇa Dāsa, which was changed to Sadānanda Dāsa after initiation.² He next went out on pilgrimage visiting Nabadvip, Bṛndābana, and other sacred places, and brought therefrom a considerable number of Vaiṣṇavite works. On his return he settled at Bāli-ā (more correctly Gōlkuṇḍa) in Pargaṇā Baru-ā. There he became the guru of the young zemindar Abhimanyu and taught him to be a poet. This is acknowledged by Abhimanyu himself in his Prēmakaḷā.³ Later on however they quarrelled, and

¹ The present Adhikāri Paramānanda Dāsa traces his descent thus :—

Sadānanda
|
Cēlā
Dhrubānanda Dāsa
|
Cēlā
Gōbindacandra Dāsa
|
Cēlā
The present Adhikāri
Paramānanda

² This is indicated in the following line—

श्रीगुरु श्री किशोरदास पङ्कज पथार आश्रय करि ।
शक्तकुलजन्म मुँ साधुचरण दास एथि अधिकारी हँ । १२ ।

Nāmacintāmaṇi 12th Chānda, p. 23.

“Taking refuge at the lotus feet of the *guru*, Īrī-Kisōra Dāsa, and who was born of a line (hereditarily) sāktas, have I been *adhikāri* here (*i. e.*, in Vaiṣṇasism).”

³ गुरु कृष्ण वदय्यवपदसेवाफले ।
कवित्वकल्पणा जनमिला हृदयले हँ । १२ ।

Abhimanyu is said to have attempted the substitution of his idol for that of his guru. Disgusted (partly from jealousy too), Sadānanda removed his things to Dikṣitapaṛā, and founded the present maṭh. This village is situated on the north of Kēndrāpaṛā canal. The present Adhikāri puts his date roughly at 150 years old. The date seems approximately correct. At the time Prēmakaḷā was written (about 1777 A.D.), Sadānanda was the teacher of Abhimanyu and was probably 30 to 40 years old, nearer 40 than otherwise. Hence Sadānanda was some twenty years older than his pupil, and may be said to have flourished in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

No large work is attributed to Sadānanda. He composed numerous songs and several small pieces, all dealing with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The tradition is that the songs passing under the name of Aṣṭadurgānātha were really Sadānanda's; he passed them off as Āṭhgaṛa king's, probably for good consideration. The present Adhikāri has supplied me with the following list of his works:—

1. Laharī (लहरौ).
2. Bhāurī (भँडरौ).
3. Cāuri (चँडरि).
4. Tattvataranginī, Parts I-III (तत्त्वतरङ्गिणी).
5. Prēmataranginī (प्रेमतरङ्गिणी).
6. Nāmacintāmaṇi (नामचिन्तामणि).
7. Niṣṭhānīlamani (निष्ठानीलमणि).
8. Prēmakaḷpalatā (प्रेमकल्पलता).
9. Samudra (समुद्र).
10. Mōhanalatā (मोहनलता).
11. Bisvambharabihāra (विश्वम्भरविहार).
12. Pātaradābaḷī (?) (पातरदावली).
13. Caitanyabhāgabata (चैतन्यभागवत).
14. Curi (?) Cintāmaṇi (चुरिचिन्तामणि).

I have seen only one work of his, Nāmacintāmaṇi (No. 6) and several songs. Caitanyabhāgabata (No. 13) if a poem, is probably an

श्रीमत् श्रीसदानन्द कविसूर्यव्रद्धा ।

कृपा फळे प्रापत् कवित्वमार्गसीमा चे । ३० ।

MS. Prēma Kaḷā, 1st Ch. Folios 1-2,

“By attendance on the feet of the Guru, Kṛṣṇa and Vaiṣṇavas, the imaginative power of poetry took its birth in my heart. Through the favour of Ḡrimata Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā I have attained the extreme of poetical path.”

The Premakaḷā was begun in the author's 20th year, as noted by him later on 1st Ch. l. 111, Folio 4.

adaptation of the same work in Bengali by Br̥ndābana Dās. The Nāmacintamaṇi is in 12 Chāndas and in print occupies 23 pages only. Besides praises to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, one Chānda (the 3rd) is entirely devoted to Caitanya and his principal disciples. Apparently Sadānanda was a Gauṛiyā Vaiṣṇava. Most extrāvagant are the praises of Rādhā, who should be named first and then Kṛṣṇa.¹ His songs are among the most popular and are exclusively devotional. But on the whole I think that he is more famous than his works justify. Probably this fame arose from his superior personality and from his extensive knowledge gathered in travel.

ABHIMANYU SĀMANTASIMHĀRA.

The pre-British poets conclude with Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra. He belonged to a zemindar family, whose descendants still survive. From one of them Babu Raghunātha Sāmantasimhāra a good deal of the undermentioned information has been obtained.²

The family was founded by one Kālu Simha. He and his brother Mahābala Simha came from Jaypur (Rajputana) to Purī apparently on pilgrimage. They took service under the Rājā of Purī and came to be employed as guards of the king's bed-room (*palaykapaharā*). While in this trusted post they secured for themselves the grant of the zemindari of Parganā Baruā. On coming to take possession, they found one Ucita Bēhērā already in possession by virtue of an older sanad. Fighting ensued, and at last a compromise was arrived at by a division of the Parganā. The two brothers got seventy-one villages, which are now comprised in the Tāluka Sāntrāpura, Kēsapura, and Rādhāmōhanaprasāda. The two brothers lived together. When Mahābala died, his

¹ ऋषिवचन राधा ये पके बोले कृष्ण नाम आगे बोले ।

मेहि क्षणि ब्रह्महत्या दोष पाए जगि जपिव न सुलि । ४ ।

Nāma Cintāmaṇi, 5th Ch. p. 8.

“This is the saying of Ṛṣis—he who names Rādhā having named Kṛṣṇa first, gets then and there the sin of a Brāhmin-murder. Not forgetting this, watchfully repeat (her name).”

² My informant, a fine old man of sixty, died the year before last (1896). He traced his descent from Abhimanyu in this manner:—

Abhimanyu
|
Rāmakṛṣṇa
(son)
|
Raghunātha
(son)
(my informant).

son Jōdhi Simha-separated taking as his share the Tāluk Sāntrapura. The descent from Kālū Simha is thus given:—

1. Kālū Simha.
|
2. Sāratha Sāmantasimhāra
(son)
|
3. Alañi Sāmantasimhāra
(son)
|
4. Bandēji S.
(son)
|
5. Paramānanda S.
(son)
|
6. Khusālī S.
(son)
|
7. Indrajita S.
(son)
|
8. Abhimanyu S.
(eldest son)
The author.

Of his father and his zemindari, Abhimanyu has given a short description in his Prēmakaḷā.¹ They lived at Gōlakunḍa which is now

¹ जम्बुद्वीप भरतखण्ड ए सार मही ।
महोदधि याजनग्र मध्य रम्य तहिँ ये ॥ १० ४ ॥
सुविहारस्थान एणु थिवार से देश ।
गोळकुण्ड नामे ग्राम तहिँरे प्रकाश ये ॥ १० ५ ॥
ब्राह्मीनदी से ग्राम सीमा भेदि वहि ।
विराट गोधन रहिवार स्थान सेहि ये ॥ १० ६ ॥
ए राज्यरे राजा मित्रवंशी चेचीवर ।
इन्द्रजित सामन्तसिंहार नाम बर हे ॥ १० ७ ॥
ताङ्क ज्येष्ठ सूत अभिमन्यु नाम मोर ।
आङ्गार रीतिरे त सामन्तसिंहार ॥ १० ८ ॥

MS. Prēmakaḷā, 1st Chānda. Folios 3-4.

“In Jambu Dvīpa Bharata Khaṇḍa, this country (Utkala) is the essence. Charming is the town Jājanagara on the seacoast of that country. In this land so well fitted for enjoyment, exists a village by name Gōlakunḍa. By the boundary of this village flows the river Brāhmī; and its meadows are well suited for immense

situated on the left bank of the Brāhminī river, 20° 42' lat., and 86° 18' long. The Jājanagara referred to was the old name of modern Jājapura. The family quarters have now been removed to Bāḷi-ā, a few miles east. The family have lost the zemindari and now live upon 25 *bāṭis* (500 acres) lākhirāj land, with which Abhimanyu is said to have endowed the family idol Rādhāmōhana.

According to local traditions Abhimanyu was precocious in his development, and lisped in number from his very boyhood. In his ninth year he is credited with the composition of doggrels known as Hūgīta, and in his tenth year with other songs, as Jēmā Gīta, Bāgha Gīta, Gōbrā-caṛēi Gīta. He then came under the influence of Sadānanda Kavi-sūryabrahmā and in his twentieth year began his first large poem Prēmakaḷā.¹ I have got a manuscript of this work. He then composed various poems as Sulakṣaṇā, Rasabatī, Prēmacintāmaṇi and Prēma-taraṅgiṇī. I have got a manuscript copy of the last. His last work was Bidagdhacintāmaṇi. He intended to finish it in 108 Chāndas with a description of the Rāsaliḷā, but when he had gone up to 96th Chānda, he felt a disgust for this life, turned an ascetic Vaiṣṇava, and abandoning family and home proceeded to Br̥ndābana. There he died in his 49th year. The Bidagdhacintāmaṇi has been printed, and in its Preface, his death is said to have taken place on Jyēṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptamī of sana 1213 (=8th June, 1806 A.D., Tuesday). Abhimanyu was well read in Sanskrit classics and rhetorics, and knew Hindī and Mārāṭhī, the speeches of the then governing races. From his boyhood, he loved to associate with Paṇḍits and Sādhus and the accidental residence of Sadānanda helped him materially in developing his poetical powers. He is said to have built a temple to Rādhāmōhana Ṭhākura.

The manuscript Prēmakaḷā is a moderate-sized volume occupying 186 folios with four lines on each page. It is a romance in 64 Chāndas modelled after Upēndra Bhañja's stories. Though begun in the author's twentieth year, it displays considerable knowledge of Sanskrit rhetorics and indicated the future power of the poet. The manuscript Prēma-taraṅgiṇī is a small piece based on the Rāsapañcādhyāyī, whose ṣṭōkas are quoted and versified. Of the other poems two are love stories,

herds of cattle. The ruler of this land is a Mitravaṁṇī Kṣatriya, by name Indrajita Sāmantasimhāra. His eldest son am I, by name Abhimanyu, by surname Sāmantasimhāra."

¹ विंश वरष वयसे एहा आरम्भिलि ।

सुजनपदाश्रितरे शङ्काहीन कलि ये ॥ १११ ॥

Prēmakaḷā MS., 1st Ch., Folio 4.

"I began this at the age of twenty, and by attending on the feet of good men dropped my timidity."

Rasabatī and Sulakṣaṇā, the initial letters of each line of the latter being *sa* ; while Prēmācintāmaṇi is said to be religious.

The last and the best of his poems is Bidagdhacintāmaṇi, based on the Sanskrit Bidagdhāmādhava of Rūpa Gōsvāmī the well-known disciple of Caitanya. It deals with the life and love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa ; while the last four Chāndas poetise the Caitanyite doctrines of *Prēma* and *Bhakti* (love and devotion). The poem is a store-house of rhetorical excellences, almost each Chānda exemplifying a different kind of verbal formations. It thus resembles Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī of Upēndra Bhañja ; but it is simpler, less loaded with Sanskrit learning and imageries, and therefore more effective. The author's religious feelings have made the poem less obscene and have induced him to put in graceful verses the rather abstruse doctrines of *Prēma* and *Bhakti*—a field which Upēndra Bhañja did not try. In learning and comprehensiveness he is undoubtedly, inferior to Upēndra ; but it may be said for Bidagdhacintāmaṇi that no single Oṛiyā poem contains so many examples of rhetorical skill or abstract poetry as this work does.

MĀDALĀ PĀÑJĪ.

Having finished the pre-British period of Oṛiyā poetry, a few words may be added in the conclusion about Oṛiyā prose. Literary compositions in Oṛiyā prose are unknown. The Mādalā Pāñji and a few Baṁsābaḷis are the only specimens of prose. These have no literary merits.¹ The Mādalā Pāñji is a sort of chronicle of the Jagannātha temple. Its contents are roughly divisible into three kinds :

(1) A short history of the kings of Orissa (Rājāmānaṅkara Rājyabhōga).

(2) A history of the erection of Jagannātha's temple, its modes of worship, and the duties of its sēbakas.

(3) An account of extraordinary events happening in the temple with the details of their costs, if any.

The historical value of Mādalā Pāñji has been very much overrated. The original informations were often not correctly entered. Then again the chronicle being on palm-leaves, it had to be recopied three or four times in a century, and in re-copying many mistakes crept in, particularly in figures. Lastly the *Sēbā* (worship) was closed several times on account of the Mahomedan raids, and many volumes must have been lost at the time. Hence the text is found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon, unless corroborated by other evidence. The later writers have also fallen into mistakes by following exclusively only

¹ The remarks by Mr. Beames on the literary value of the Mādalā Pāñji (Vol. II, p. 348) were passed admittedly without any knowledge of their contents.

one version of the royal geneology, while there are five or six versions in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. The truth often lies in one or other version. Appendix IV. will give some idea of the difficulties in constructing a royal geneology from these different versions.

At present the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* is kept in two sets, one by the *Sēbaka* entitled *Dēuḷakarāṇa*, the other by the *Sēbaka* named *Tarha-u*. The *Dēuḷakarāṇa* (*lit.* the writer of the temple) as his name implies, seems to have been the original keeper of the records, but a second was added apparently for check and for better preservation of the informations. It is not known when these records began to be kept. But from the fact that a large number of details dates from the time of *Anaṅga Bhīma Dēva*, the system would appear to have been established by him. As a rule the later the accounts, the more reliable they are.

N.B.—Since writing this article, a kind letter of Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to his remarks on the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹ Dr. Fleet has analysed the earlier list of kings carefully and comes to the conclusion that the annal is “absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history.” (p. 335). I came nearly to the same conclusion when I was studying the original manuscript of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. In an article read before this Society, an abstract of which was published in the *Proceedings* for July 1892, I noticed the general unreliability of the historical portion of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, and remarked that at best it can be used only as a corroborative document. Dr. Fleet’s analysis confirms me in that view.

On some of the points discussed in the very interesting article of Dr. Fleet, I venture to differ. Firstly, he thinks that in respect of most of the *Kēṇarī* kings it can only be said that “not one of them has any ring of antiquity in the sound of it; they may possibly be real names of later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series.” (p. 336). I know at least of one Orissan inscription not later than tenth century, which mentions *Kēṇarī* kings. It is the *Brahmēṇvara* inscription of *Bhuvanēṇvara*.² This inscription mentions *Udyōtaka Kēṇarī*, and of his ancestors *Janamējaya*, *Vicitravīra*, *Caṇḍihara* and *Kōḷāvatī*. The names of both *Janamējaya* and *Kōḷāvatī* are to be found in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. The *Kēṇarī* kings need not therefore be considered as myths or later rulers, as suggested.

Secondly, Dr. Fleet has “no substantial doubt that the *Yavana* invasions which were repulsed, as the annals say, by *Vajradēva* and his

¹ “The Records of the *Sōmavaṃṇi* kings of *Katak*.” *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., pp. 334–340.

² Prinsep, *Journ. As. Soc.* Vol. VII., p. 558 *et. seq.*; l. c. Dr. R. L. Mitra’s *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. pp. 88–9.

successors, and the successful invasion by the Yavanas, in the time of Çōbhanadēva, are (mixed up with the early Gupta rule) simply the raids into Orissa by the Mussulmans in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the ultimate conquest of the country by them in the sixteenth century A.D.” (p. 339). After having so satisfactorily established the utter worthlessness of the earlier part of the annals, it is a pity that Dr. Fleet should make such an elaborate inference on one of the least authentic events of that earlier part. I am inclined to disbelieve the whole story of Raktavāhu the Yavana, as a legend without any historical value. If any identification be at all required, I would rather identify him with some Buddhist or Jaina chief of the South.

Lastly, Dr. Fleet thinks that Çivagupta and his descendants were kings of a dominion which included “probably the whole of Orissa,” and who had their capitals at Kaṭaka (p. 327). This conclusion does not appear to be borne out by the facts. The epithet “Trikaṇḍādhīpati” is merely an honorific title, just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves “kings of Gauṛa and Kaṇḍāṭa” without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word Kaṭaka should be taken as a common noun denoting “camp;” the old name of modern town Kaṭaka being “Bārāṇasi Kaṭaka.”¹ Of the six copper-plates, five have, no doubt, been found near modern Kaṭaka; but this is probably due to the fact that the donees lived there or subsequently came to live there. Many Oṛiyā Brāhmins living near Kaṭaka and Purī still hold lands in the eastern part of Central Provinces, or in the northern part of Madras Presidency. The sixth copper-plate was found in Pāṭnā in the Central Provinces, and does not support the theory of Orissa kingship. The river Mahānadī has been mentioned in copper-plates E. and F., but that river flows as much through the Central Provinces as through Orissa. The villages in which the lands were granted cannot be traced in Orissa; while many of them have been specifically mentioned in the grants to have been in Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala. The kings also are specifically mentioned in the inscriptions as “Kōsalēndra.” The inscriptions are not earlier than the 11th and belong more probably to the 12th Century A.D.; and at that time the Gaṅgavaṃṣa kings were ruling in Orissa, as a series of inscriptions have proved beyond doubt. All these facts and a careful reading of the grants lead me to the conclusion that Çivagupta and his descendants were really kings of Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala (identifiable with the N. E. part of Central Provinces),

¹ J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII., 1893, pp. 100-1; the other inscriptions in this article show how the word “kaṭaka” was used in old days; Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 134.

and that the lands in the plates B to F. were granted to Brāhmins who either resided at the time in Orissa or subsequently came to reside there.

APPENDIX III. BHŪPATI PAṆḌITA'S ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF.

ए पथे परम आनन्दे । कृष्णचरण अरविन्दे ॥
 एमन होइला मधुप । वैष्णव दास कवि भूप ॥
 पश्चिमा विप्र सारस्वत । नाम ये भूपति पण्डित ॥
 श्रीगजपति गौड़ेश्वर । उत्कल देशर ठाकुर ॥
 ये नव कोटि कर्णाटक । क्लवर देशर नायक ॥
 ए आदि लोक चतुर्दश । पुरित याहार सुयश ॥
 जगन्नाथङ्क कृत्र शिरे । एणु ए वड़ जगतरे ॥
 पूर्वे ए ओड़िशा राज्यर । श्री इन्द्रद्युम्न नृपवर ॥ २०० ॥
 ताहाङ्क आज्ञा परमाणे । ब्रह्मा अइले ए भुवने ॥
 ब्रह्मा मानिले आज्ञा यार । इतर जन केउँ क्कार ॥
 एहाङ्क शिरे साढ़ि देइ । एटि प्रत्यक्षे विष्णुदेहि ॥
 ए वीरबर वइष्णव । नाम श्री दिव्यसिंह देव ॥
 लक्ष्मे राजाङ्क चूड़ामणि । सुन्दरपणे अग्रे गणि ॥
 कन्दर्प सम नोहे रूपे । पृथिवी पूरित प्रतापे ॥
 पण्डित धामक विवेक । सङ्गीत विद्या सुरसिक ॥
 मदन शास्त्र अनुभवि । श्रीकृष्णरस वाक्य कवि ॥
 प्रजापालन विप्रभक्त । दयालु दाता परहित ॥
 एते लक्षणे से राजन । ताहाङ्क करि दरशन ॥ २१० ॥
 कीर्त्ति कवित्व वर्णिवार । शुणि सन्तोष नृपवर ॥
 धनवसन भूमि दान । देले से होइ सुप्रसन्न ॥
 देखि अनुग्रह विशेष । क्वाड़ि अइलि निज देश ॥
 ताहाङ्क अन्नजल खाइ । सुखे ताहाङ्क राज्ये थाइ ॥
 कठक नाम रथिपुर । नगर पश्चिमे मो घर ॥
 पश्चिम भाषारे कवित्व । वङ्गळा भाषा बिरहित ॥
 उत्कल भाषा नवशिखा । मोहर वइष्णव दीक्षा ॥
 श्री ब्रज राजेन्दु कुमर । किशोर कृष्ण वेणुधर ॥

ताहाङ्कु शाखा भावे भजि । निर्मळ प्रेमे मन रञ्जि ।
 श्री कृष्णचरणे विश्वास । नाम श्री चइतन्यदास ॥ २२० ॥
 महत शुद्ध वङ्गाव । गोपीका भक्ति ताङ्क भाव ॥
 श्रीपुरुषोत्तमरे घर । शुद्ध पश्चिम पारुशर ॥
 पूर्व्वे से कपाळमोचन । पश्चिमे लेकेश्वर स्थान ॥
 ए दुइ शिवङ्क मध्यर । मठ चइतन्य दासङ्कर ।
 ताहाङ्क सङ्गे मो पीरति । ताहाङ्क इष्ट गोपीपति ।
 आज्ञा होइला ताहाङ्कर । उत्कळ भाषा वाक्य कर ॥
 चौतिषा चउपदी गीत । बर्ण हो गोविन्द चरित ।
 ताहाङ्क आज्ञा घेनि शिरे । मन श्रीकृष्ण चरणरे ।
 सुधासमुद्र पूरि थाइ । थेण्ट पूराइ खग नेइ ।
 तदव गोविन्द चरित । चौतिषा चउपदी गीत ।
 करइ बुद्धि अनुसारे । शुणाइ ताहाङ्क कामुरे । २३० ।
 से पुणि ऊअन्ति प्रसन्न । आनन्दे दयन्ति आलिङ्गन ।
 ए रूपे कृपा ताहाङ्कर । एटि दुर्लभ लाभ मोर ।
श्रीदिव्यसिंह राजाङ्कर । समस्त अठर अङ्कर ।
मकर मास शुक्लपक्ष । तिथि त्रयोदशी प्रत्यक्ष ।
गोधूळि सोमवार दिन । ए ग्रन्थ होइला सम्पूर्ण ।
 ए दश अध्या पदयुक्त । दुइ सहस्र नव शत ।
 अधिक सप्त तिरिष । ए प्रेम पञ्चामृत रस ।
 येवे तो ब्रह्मज्ञाने मन । ए ग्रन्थ करहे पठन ।

Prēmapañcāmṛta, 10th Adhyāya, pp. 122-23.

APPENDIX IV.

The Later Kings of Khōrdā.

Considerable confusion exists regarding the times of these kings, and the confusion has arisen partly from the peculiar nature of the Oṛiyā aṅka and partly from relying on one version alone of the Mādaḷā Pāñji. The Oṛiyā aṅka omits several years and begins in bhādra; but hitherto it has been taken as an ordinary year. The Mādaḷā Pāñji, furthermore, gives several versions of the royal genealogies. Of these one has been followed by Mr. Stirling, which will be called A;

another (to be called B) is followed in Bābu Bhabānī Charaṇ Bandyō-pādhyāya's *Puruṣōttamacandrikā* and adopted in Hunter's *Orissa* (Vol. II, App. VII, pp. 183–191); while a third which I shall call C is still unpublished. The C version is incomplete taking the genealogy up to Gōpīnātha Dēva only, but otherwise appears to have been generally more reliable.

I. DIVYASIMHA DĒVA.

(1692/93–1719/20 A.D.).

His time is important for Oṛiyā literature, as three poets,—Upēndra Bhañja, Bhūpati Paṇḍita and Bisvanātha Khunṭiā mention him. The king's initial year appears to be 1692–93 A.D., and for several reasons. Firstly, A puts it at 1692 A.D. Secondly, Bhūpati Paṇḍita's poem was finished in his 18th Aṅka, makara ṣukla trayōdaṣī, Monday. On calculating according to Prof. Jacobi's Tables, makara ṣukla trayōdaṣī fell on Monday in the year 1707 (3rd February). This being the king's 18th aṅka or 15th year, the first year falls in 1692–93. Thirdly, reasonings from Mahomedan chronicles support this date. During this reign Aurangzēb sent orders to break the temple and the image of Jagannātha :—

“He (Mīr Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bilgrām) was a man held in great respect and had served under Nawāb Ikrām in Orissa. When Aurangzēb had sent orders to the Nawāb to destroy the temple of Jagannāth, Raja Durup Sing Deo who had the temple under him asked the Mīr to introduce him to the Nawāb. The Raja promised to break up the temple and to send the big idol to the Emperor. He actually did break the statue of Rakas which stood over the entrance of the temple, and also two battlements over the door. The idol which was made of sandalwood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzēb at Bijapur where it was thrown by order on the steps of the mosque.”¹

¹ Tabṣirat-ul-Nāẓirīn, l. c. Dr. R. L. Mittra's *Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 112. The breaking of the temple is corroborated by Mādaḷā Pāñji (C version) :—

“(अ०क) रिसभ दि १९ ने एदिन देवविभा एइ दिन पातीसा अउरङ्ग साहाङ्ग नवाव एकराम खाँ एहाङ्गठारु अइला एहा भाइ सरमण्ड खाँ यमाउला एसङ्गते इमाम कोळि असुअर गो ५० टा घेनि । राया दिव्यसिंह देव वारुलागि होइथिले देउळ सिंहद्वार गुमुठ भाङ्गिले भोगमण्डपर चक्र नेले काठर यगनाथ प्रतिमाकु मुगल नेले देउळ सिंहासन उपरकु नवाव भाइ गला देउळ सिंहद्वार दखौण द्वार मुदागला”

The event thus described took place on 19th ṛsava, 7th Aṅka of the king Divyasimha Dēva, being 17th May in 1697 A.D.

Aurangzēb was at Bijapur in 1697 A.D., conducting the war against the Marhattas.¹ As quoted in the note 1 of page 381, the image was taken away in the 7th anka of the King Divyasimha Dēva. Hence his 7th Anka or 5th year fell in 1696/97 A.D., and his 1st year in 1692/93 A.D. According to C, Divyasimha was crowned on Bichā 23rd, equal to 22nd November 1692, (*vide* Prof. Jacobi's Tables).

According to C, Divyasimha Dēva ruled for 34 Ankas or 27y. 5m. 11d. That he reigned for more than 33 Ankas is corroborated by an Oriyā inscription found by me on the wheel at the top of Jagannātha temple. The Inscription contains the following entry among others :—

“श्रीद्रिवसिंह देव माहाराजाङ्क अष्टाङ्क मकर दि २८ न श्रीनीळचक्र तीञ्चार होइ विजे होइले” The blue wheel was made and put (on the top), on makara 28th, 33rd Anka of Ārī-Dribasimha Dēva Māhārājā.

The 33rd Anka or 27th year takes us to 1718/19 A.D., and its makar 28th was 26th January in 1719 A.D., (*vide* Jacobi's Tables). Divyasimha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1719 A.D. According to C, he died next year on mēṣa 31st (34th Anka), or 28th April 1720 A.D. (*vide* Jacobi).

II. HARĒKṚṢṆA DĒVA.

(1719/20–1724/25 A.D.)

Divyasimha was succeeded by his brother Harēkrṣṇa, whose reign is put by A. and B. at 5 years and by C. at 7 Ankas or 4y. 10m. 20d, (3 put in C by mistake for 4). All the versions therefore agree. He died on mina 19th, 7th Anka (*vide* C.) which according to Jacobi's Tables would be 18th March in 1725 A.D. The father of Gadādhara Rāyaguru (the author of Sanskrit Ācārasāra) was *guru* of this king.

III. GŌPĪNĀTHA DĒVA.

(1724/25–1731/32 A.D.)

Harēkrṣṇa was succeeded by his son Gōpinātha, with whose accession C. ends. Both A. and B. agree in putting his reign at 7 years. That he reigned for more than six years is corroborated by an account in the Mādala Pāñji. During this reign the accidental sitting of an owl on the Jagannātha's image necessitated an extraordinary purification with three baths. The event took place on Makar krṣṇa trayōdaṣī, Monday, 8th Anka of Gōpinātha Dēva. Makara krṣṇa 13 fell on Monday in the year 1731 A.D. (25th January). Gōpinātha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1731 A.D.

¹ Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., p. 662 (Ed. 1889).

IV. RĀMACANDRA DĒVA II.

(1731/32—1742/43 A.D.)

This king was son of Gōpinātha. According to A., he reigned 16 years; according to B. 11 years. B's statement appears more reliable, because the reigns of this king and of his two successors amount to 66 years, and the next following king (Makunda Dēva) began to rule in 1797/98 A.D., as I shall show hereafter. Hence Rāmacandra's 1st year falls in 1731/32 (or 1797/98—66) exactly as calculated from his father's reign. But A's total 71 would put his 1st year further back to 1726/27 A.D., which does not agree with the calculations from the reigns of the preceding kings. Rāmacandra Dēva was unfortunate. He was defeated and taken as prisoner to Kaṭaka under orders of Shujā-ud-dīn, the Bengal Governor. At Kaṭaka he married a Mahomedan lady and died.

V. VĪRAKĪṢŌRA DĒVA.

(1742/43—1779/80 A.D.)

Virakiṣōra succeeded his grandfather as a child. According to A,¹ the Marhattas conquered Orissa and drove out the Mughals in his 5th Aṅka or 4th year. This dispossession of the Mughals took place towards the end of the rains in 1745 A.D.² The 4th year being 1745/46 A.D., the first year naturally falls in 1742/43 A.D. According to A. he ruled 43 years; and according to B. 37 years. For reasons stated under Rāmacandra Dēva and under the next kings I have accepted B's figures as more reliable. Virakiṣōra was reigning in 43rd Aṅka or 35th year as an Oṛiyā sale-deed testifies.³ The king's rule was nominal being disturbed by Mughals and Marhattas.

VI. DIVYASIMHA DĒVA II.

(1779/80—1797/98 A.D.)

This king was grandson of Virakiṣōra. His reign is put by Mr. Stirling at 12, and by B. at 18 years. The former is wrong because A. which Stirling followed, really shows 18 and not 12; and because Stirling himself has translated an Oṛiyā sale-deed dated 17th Aṅka or

¹ “ए राजाङ्क अङ्करे मरठाएं आसि मुगलकु उठाइ देले ।

कटक अमल कले । मुगलवन्दि दखल कले ।”

² Stewart's Hist. Beng. (1847), p. 293. “Ragojee accordingly encamped in Beerbhoom and reduced the province of Cuttack and most of Burdwan, by his detachments.”

³ Toynbee's Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.

14th year of this king.¹ He used to pay tribute to the Marhattas, and had little of royal power even in his own territory that corresponded with the present Khōrdā subdivision plus Parganā Lēmbāi.

VII. MAKUNDA DĒVA II.

(1797/98—1817 A.D.)

Stirling places the accession of this king in 1798 A.D., and as he was a contemporary of the king his opinion carries weight. This is borne out also by two facts. According to A. the British conquered Orissa in this king's 9th Anka, and captured and imprisoned the Rājā in his 10th Anka or 8th year. The British forces captured the Fort Bārabāṭi in Katakā on 14th October 1803, while the Rājā himself was captured the next year in November 1804.² Hence the 1st year of the king falls in 1797–98 A.D. The Rājā was released subsequently. But in 1817 on account of the rebellion of Khōrdā pāiks he was recaptured and put into the prison at Katakā. There he died on 30th November 1817 A.D.³ in his 24th Anka or 19th year.

APPENDIX V.

Gumusara royal Geneology.

एहाङ्कु (वनमालि भञ्जकु) मारि एहाङ्कु भाइ गोपिनाथ भञ्ज रायुत कले १५५८ सकाब्द शरि कि व २२ र्ष । १५४१ शकाब्दरे गोपिनाथपुर शासन कले । एहाङ्कु पूअ बड़ धनञ्जय भञ्जे १ गोविन्द भञ्ज पाटरजा २ वलभद्र कोटरा ३ निधि भञ्ज सान्तसिंहारे ४ । ए चारि पुअ ताङ्कर होइथिले । ताङ्क भितर वड़ पुअ धनञ्जय भञ्ज राजत्व कले । ए राजत्व कले ओ राजत्व करिवारे घाठी ए हयार टङ्गा लगाइ जगती गोटिए तीयार करिथिले । खटदोळी वाङ्किया रतन जड़ित करि तीयार करिथिले । एहाङ्कर विशेष महादेइ नाचुणि करिथिले । ए वड़ भोगि । ए माइपि कुचमर्दन ऊअन्ति । ए रात्र दुइ घड़ि थाए सरुच-कुलि दुध योगणा करन्ति । ए रजा धनञ्जयपुर शासन १५७८ शकाब्दरे कले । एहिपरि यशमानङ्कु करि राजत्व करिवारे ए राजत्व कले १६२३ शकाब्द शरि कि व ६५ र्ष । एयकु १६१६ शकाब्द शरि कि पेशकेशि काहाकु देवार न थिला । १६१७ शकाब्द शरि कि मुगलाइ नवाव आसिवारे एक बर्षकु ट ५००० ङ्का पाञ्च हयार टङ्गा लेखाए पेशकेशि मूल कले । से दिन ठार पेशकेशि देवार

¹ Toynbee's Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.

² Toynbee's Orissa, pp. 4-5 ; Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, p. 58.

³ Toynbee's Orissa, p. 21.

हेला । एहाङ्ग पुअ राउतघर नाति वड़ गङ्गाधर पाट कुमारे । जुडु मुळार नाती
हरिश्चरण भञ्जे । एहाङ्ग पद हन्ताकारी वड़जेना । घरा कोट घर नाति
विष्णुनाथ मङ्गराजे । वड़म्बा हाड देइ पाट महादेइङ्ग पुअ । नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे । १ ।
विक्रम भञ्जे । २ । प्रताप भञ्जे । ३ । खण्डपड़ाधर नाति गदाधर भञ्जे । १ । शान्त
सिंहारे । २ । खलिकोटघर नाति । गिरिधर भञ्जे । १ । सदाशिव भञ्जे । २ ।
वाउरि भञ्जे । ३ । भमर वरे । १ । राउत घर नाति । अर्जुन भञ्जे । २ । एरूपे तेर
पुअ नाचुणी पुअ पाञ्च गोटी । एरूप अठर पुअ । एहाङ्ग राजवरे ए गुमुशरकु
अश्वत्थमा गोपनीय वेशरे आसि थिले । ताङ्ग तेजर राजा महापुरुष वोलि जाणि
ताङ्गठारे भक्ति कले । ताङ्ग पचारिले आम्भ उतार गुमुशररे किये राजत्व करिव ।
पचारिवार तहिंकि से कहिले । तुम्भ पुअमानङ्ग राजत्व नाहिं । तहिं उत्तार
गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजाङ्ग पुअ । रघुनाथ दक्षिणर ये । घन भञ्जे । चन्द्र शेखर
श्रीचन्दने । जदु भमर वरे । शामसुन्दर विधारे । मकुन्द भञ्जे राआपितामे । एरूपे
ताङ्गर कपुअङ्ग देखिले । एहाङ्ग देखि वोइले काहाठारे राजचिह्न नाहिं । घनिया
उत्तार गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजाङ्ग पुअ घनिया हेव । एपरि से कहिवार ताहा
मनरे रखिथिले । घनञ्जय भञ्ज राजभोग इच्छारे रहि भाइ गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट
रजाङ्ग मुलुक वेमार समर्पण करि थान्ति । ए समयरे शुआगि महादेइ
हाडुदेइङ्ग ठारे रजाङ्गर वड़ स्नेह थाए । से महादेइ पुअ नीलकण्ठ भञ्जङ्ग
साड़ी देव वोलि कज्जथान्ति । गङ्गाधर पाट कुमारङ्ग ठारे गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट
रजाङ्गर कपुअ प्रीतिकरि थान्ति । हाडुदेइ ताहा शुणि रजाङ्ग ठारे विमन करि
खच कहिले । गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजाङ्ग कपुअ समेतरे राज्यर अन्तर कराइ
देले । से गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजा पाञ्च पुअङ्ग घेनि ओड़ीश्या वाहारि गले । घन
भञ्जे धराकोट जमिदारी स्थलरे रहिले । एउतारु रजा बहूत काल जीइंवारु
हाडुदेइ विचारिले । एत बहूत काल राजत्व कले पुअ मोर रजा होइ न
पारिला । एमन्त दुर्वीचार करि चम्पा नानि हाते दुध सरुचकुळी खाइबारे
सेथिरे विष दिआइले पुअ नीलकण्ठ भञ्जङ्ग वापङ्ग ए समयरे अपाय विचार
कर वोलि कहि देले । नीलकण्ठ भञ्ज ताहा जाणि वापङ्ग माइले । वड़ भाइ पाट
कुमारङ्ग राज साड़ी वांन्धिवि आस वोलिवारु से भयर कवाट किळि रहि घर
न वाहारिले । ताङ्ग घर कवाट चिरि ताङ्ग धरि हाणि पकाइले । ताहाङ्ग पुअ
सत्रुजय भञ्ज पाञ्चेरि चिरि पळाउथिले । दन्ता दया वोलि वालेक काण्ड
विंघिवारु काण्ड बायिबारे पड़िवारु वेड़ीकरि हाणी पकाइले । ए सत्रुजय भञ्जङ्ग

भार्या गर्भ होइथिले । ताह्णु नेइ बन्दि करि रखी नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे राजुत
 कले १६२५ शकाब्द सरिकि व २४ । ए भितरे धराकोटरे थिवा घन भञ्जे
 सुणीले । तीनि पुरुष मारि नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे राया हेले वोलि । से खवर शुणी
 घन भञ्जे करडामाळकु शुत्र करि करडामाळरे प्रवेश हेले । सेठारे रहि
 करडा माळुआ लोकङ्कु पठोआइ वन्दिरे थिवा सत्रुयय भञ्ज्ण भार्या
 मण्डादेइङ्कु आसिना माग्नि पर्व उच्छ्व गहळरे कुलाड गडठारु चोराइ घेनि
 गले । ताङ्कु नेइ वारवारे रखाइले । सेठारे ताङ्कर रणभञ्जी वोलिवार पुअ गोटी-
 ए यन्म हेले । से पुअङ्कु घन भञ्ज घेनि राजवंस पुअ ए वोलि समस्त माळ
 कन्दङ्कु देखाइ ताङ्कु आयत्त करि लण्कर तसकर घेनि नीलकण्ठ भञ्ज्ण उपरे
 फेवर लगाइले । ओड़ीश्यारे थिवा घनभञ्ज्ण वापे गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजा ए
 दीगरु लण्कर धरि नुआगां गड जमिदारिकु आयत्त करि अमाइतङ्कु आयत्त
 करि विशेष नण्कर धरि ए दिगरु घेर देले । एपरि दुइ आडरे घेर देखि
 नीलकण्ठ भञ्ज रहि न पारि राज्य क्काडि वाहारि गले । से वाहारि थिवारु
रणभञ्ज्ण राजधानिरे वसाइ गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजा वेभारक होइथिले ए
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MS. Gumusara Bamsābalī.

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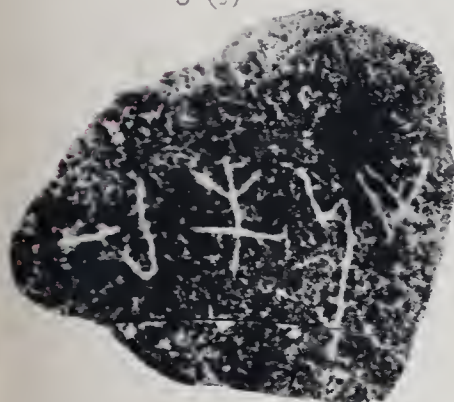
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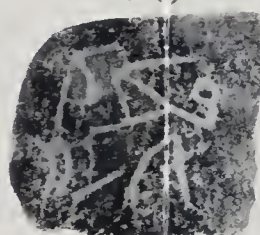
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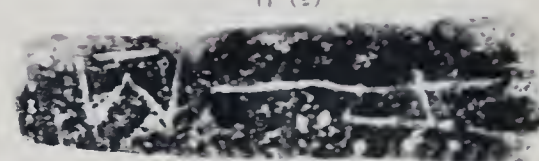
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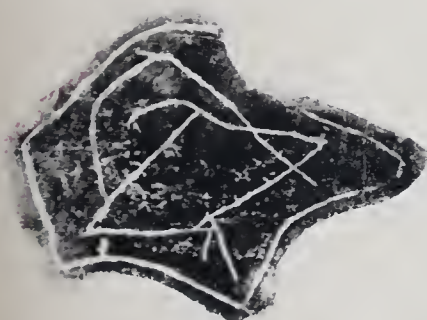
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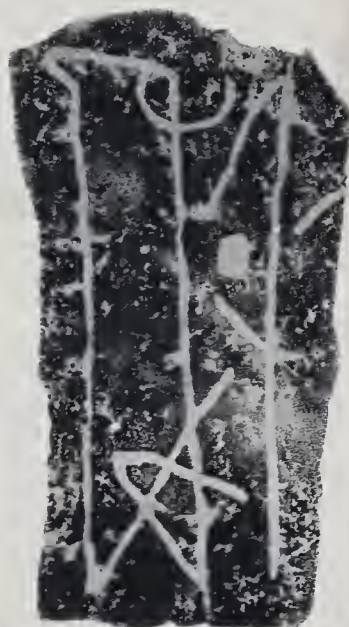
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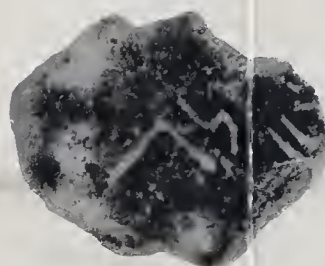
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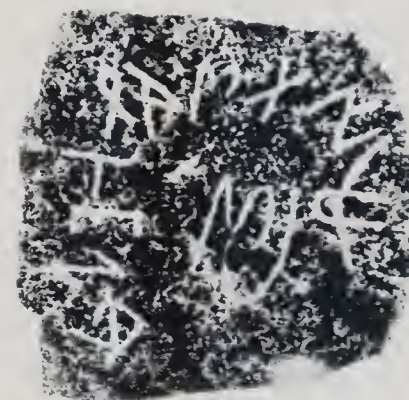
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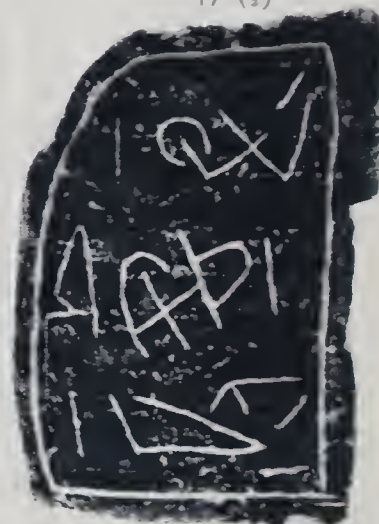
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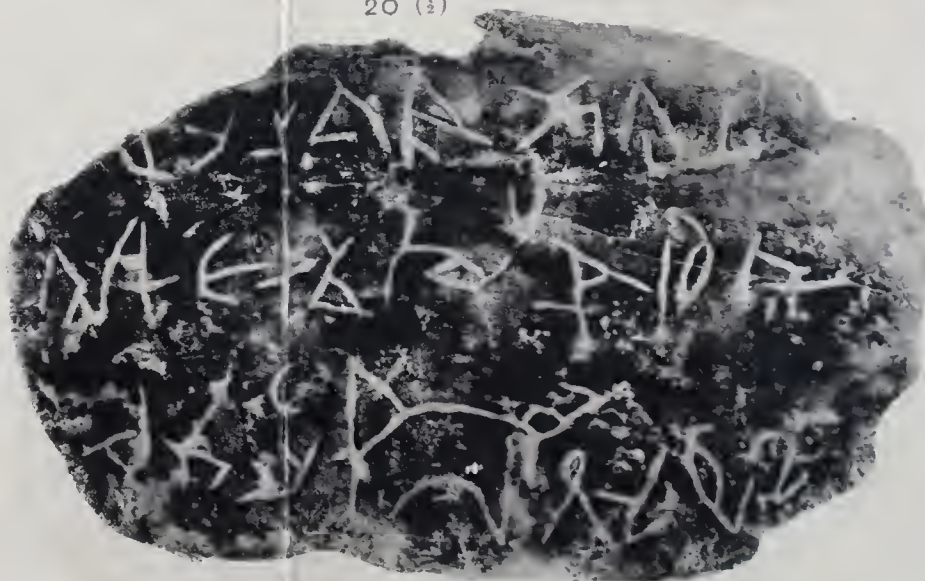
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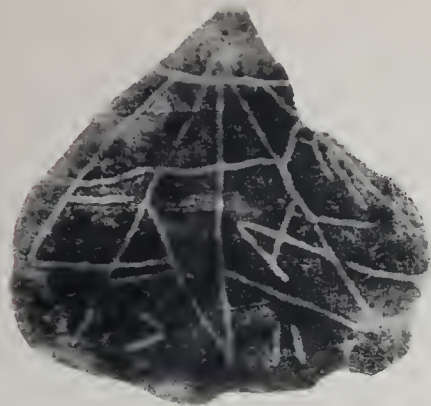




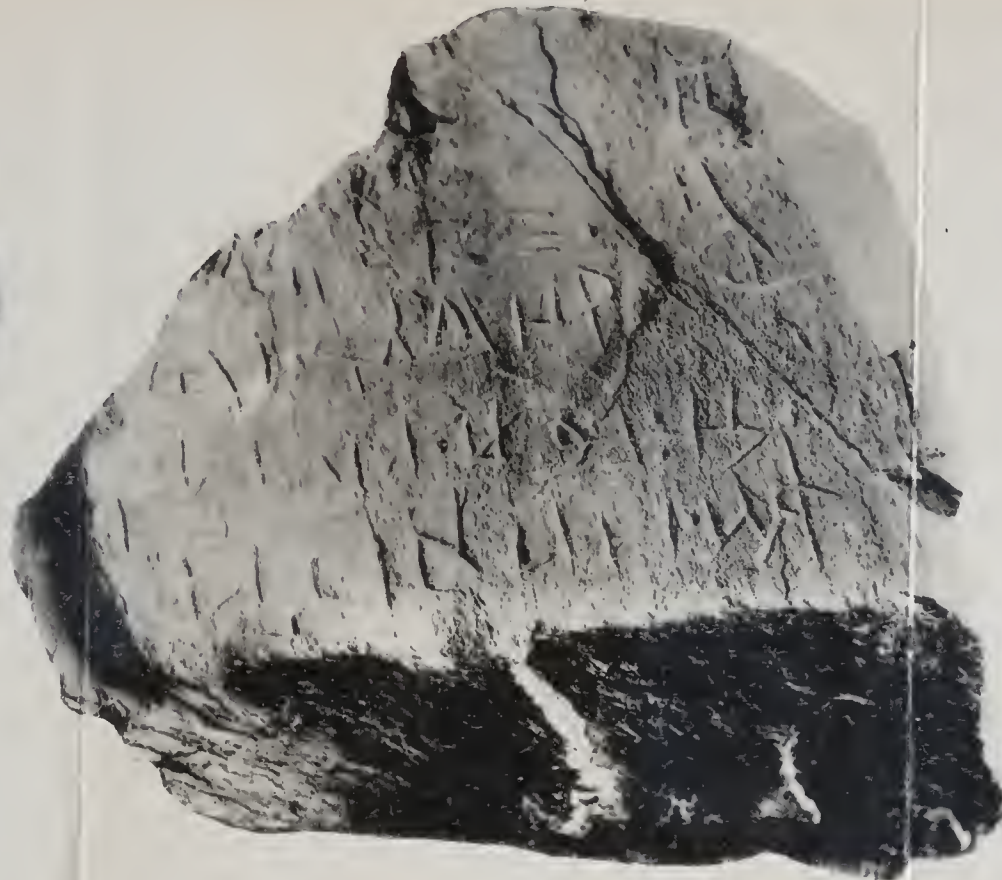
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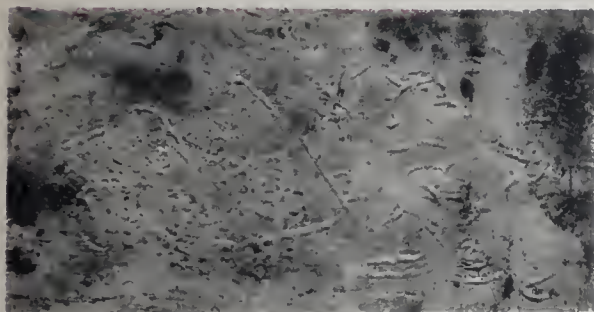
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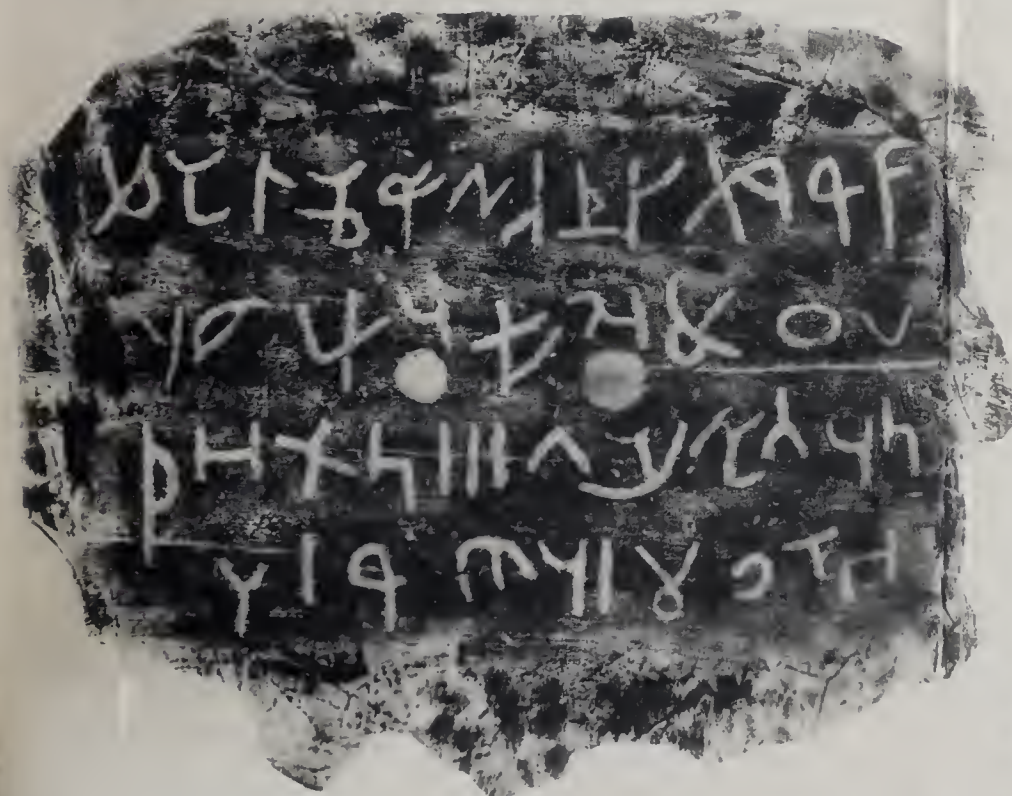
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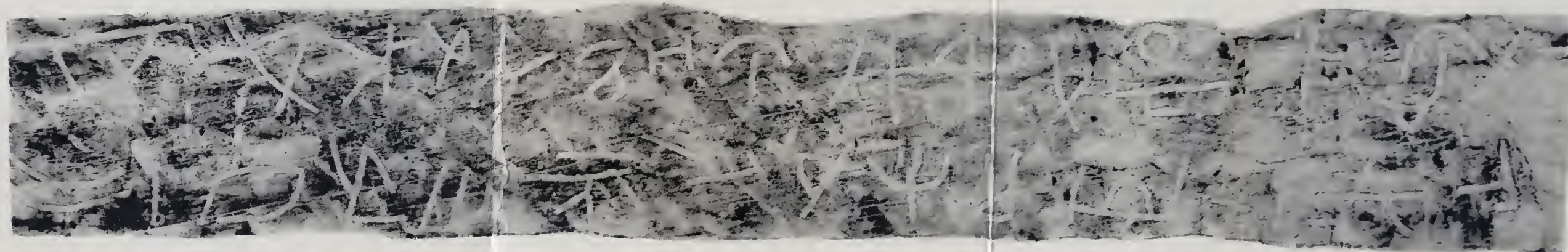
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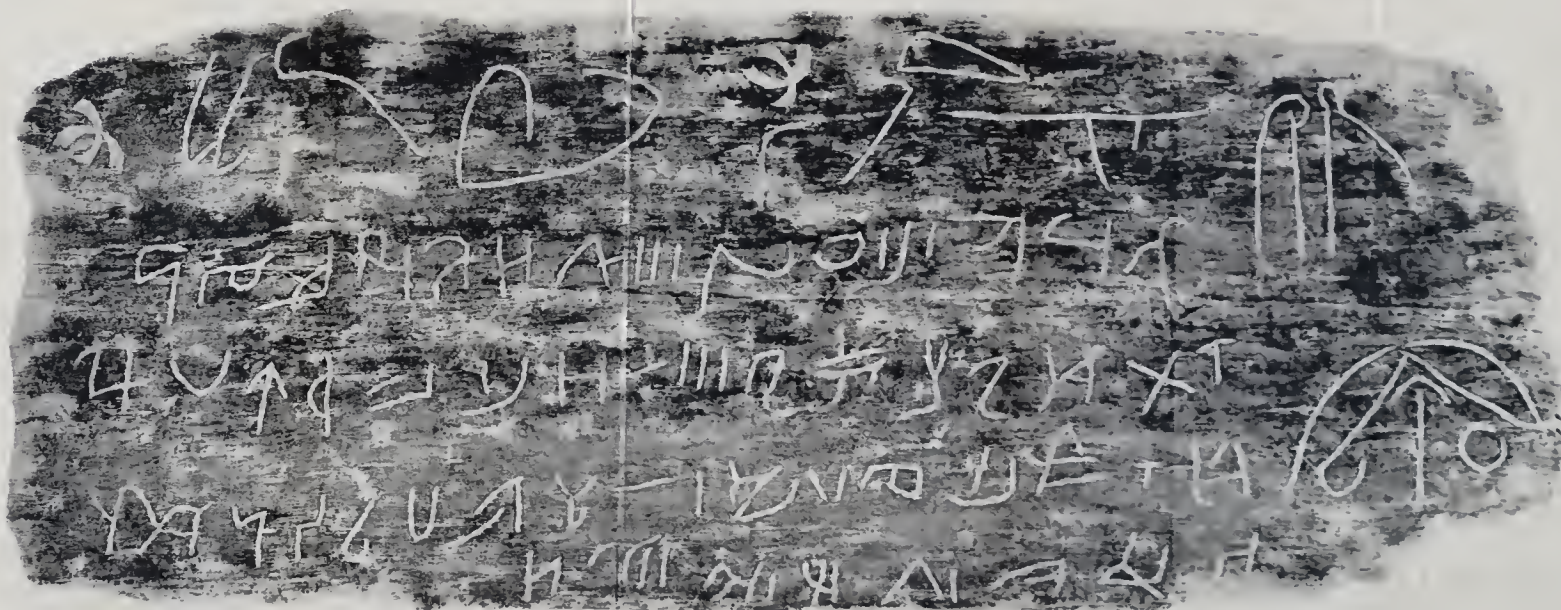
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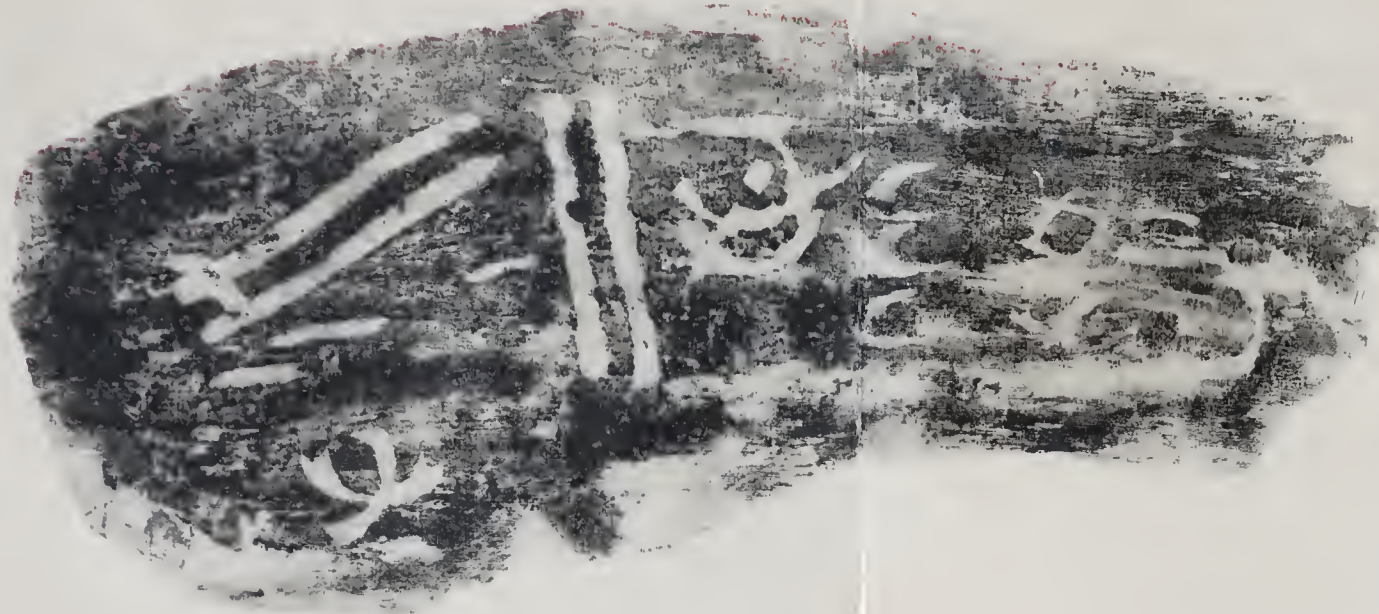
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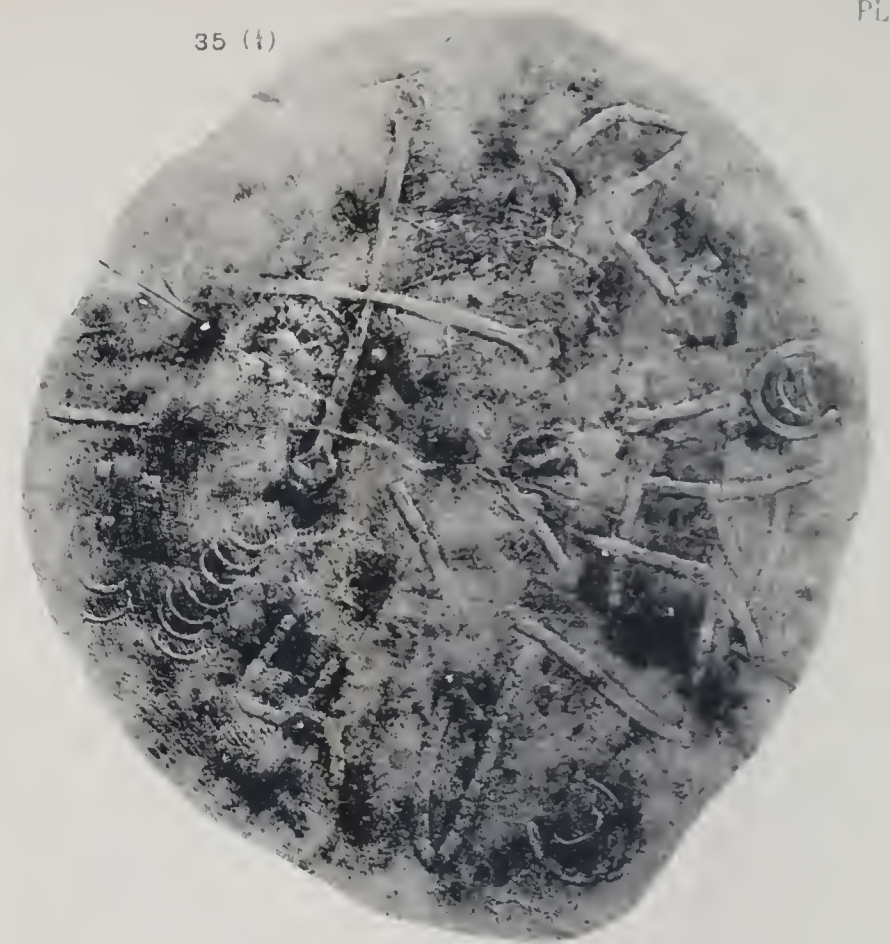
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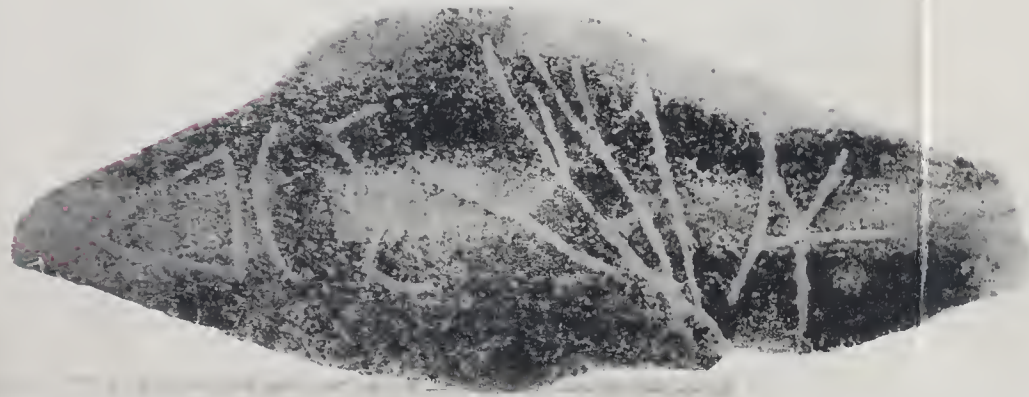
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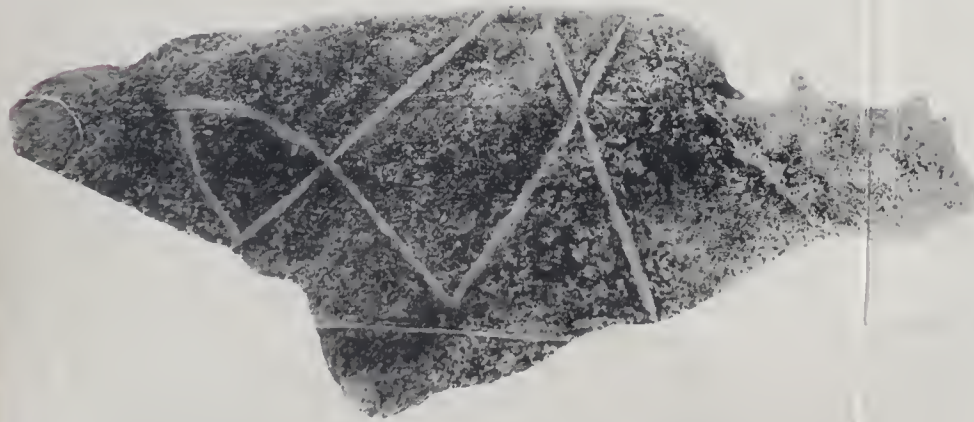
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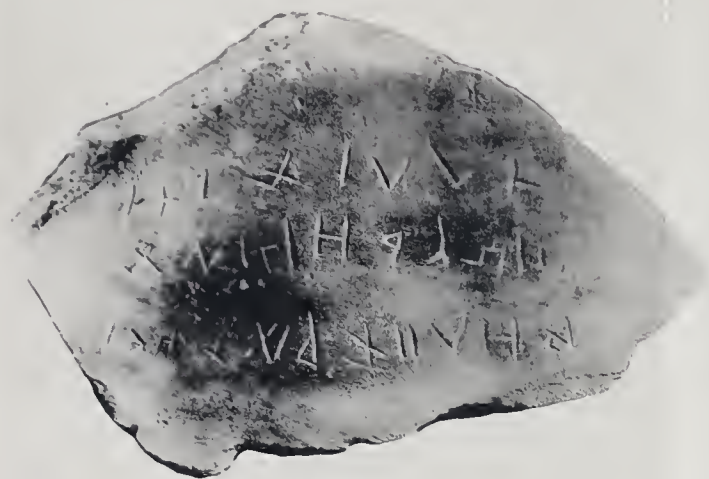
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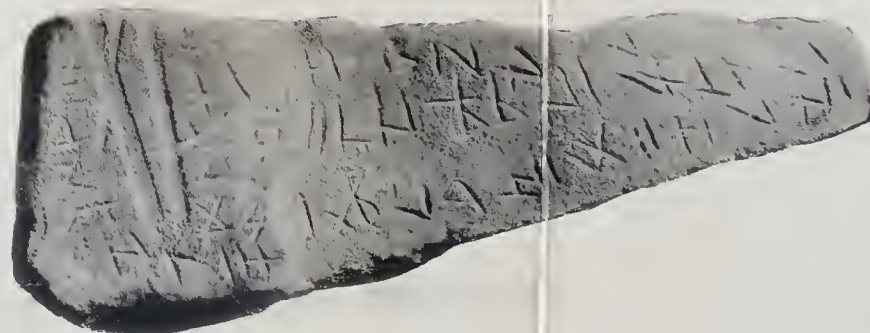
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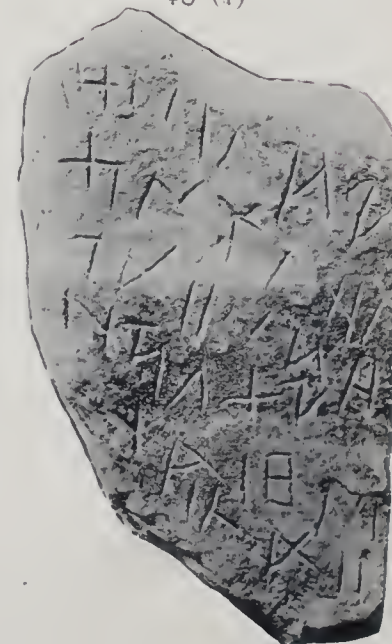
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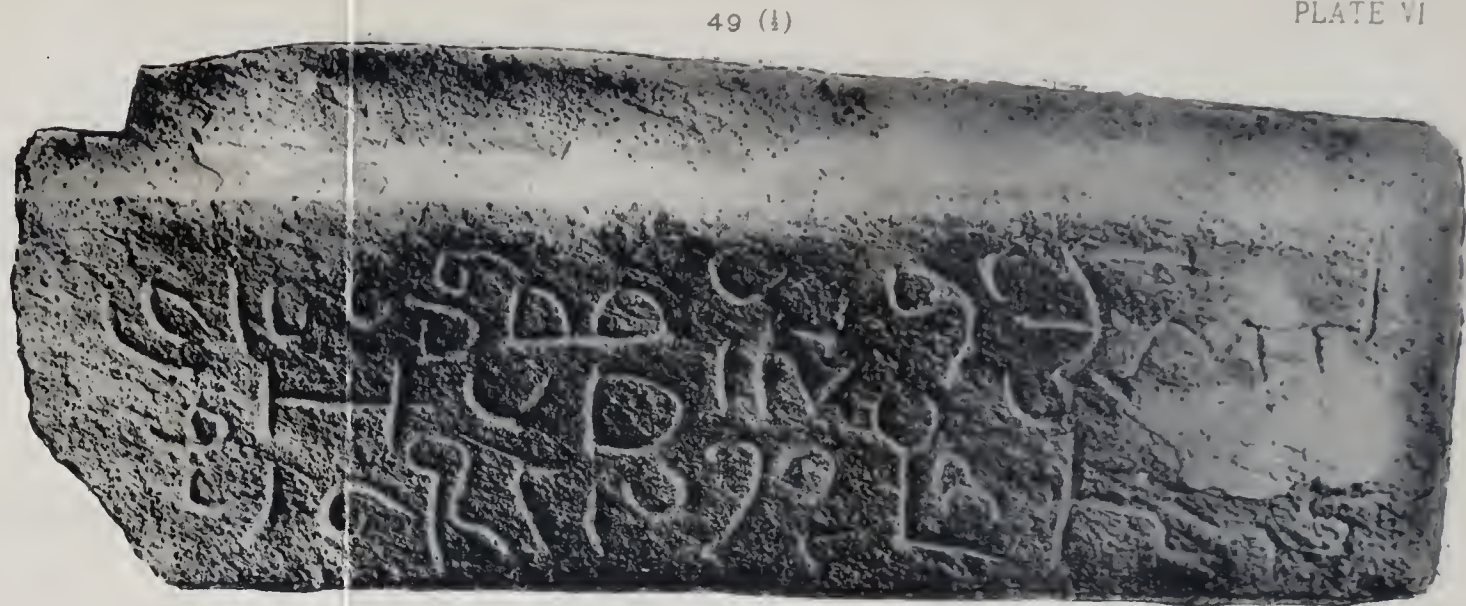
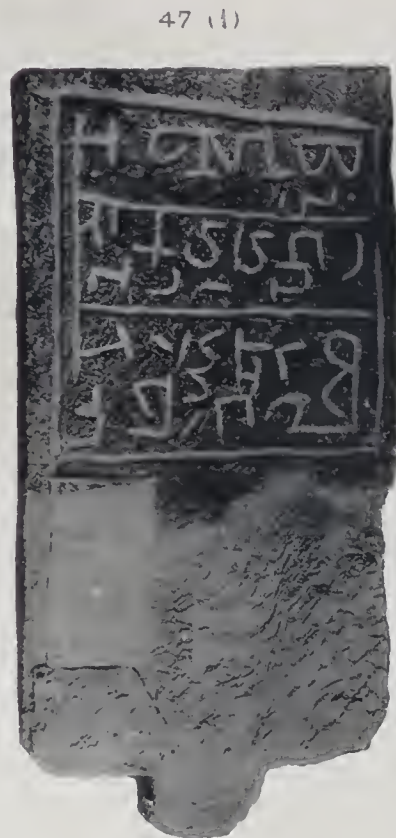


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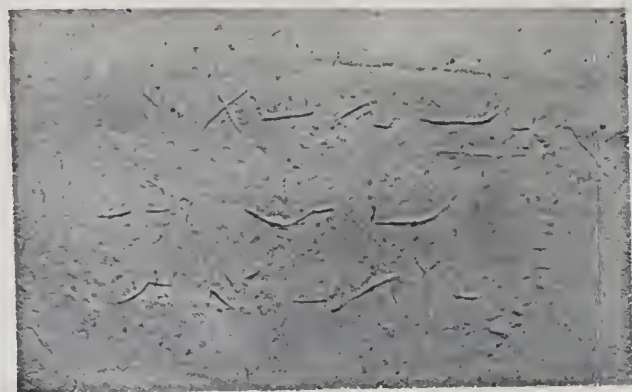


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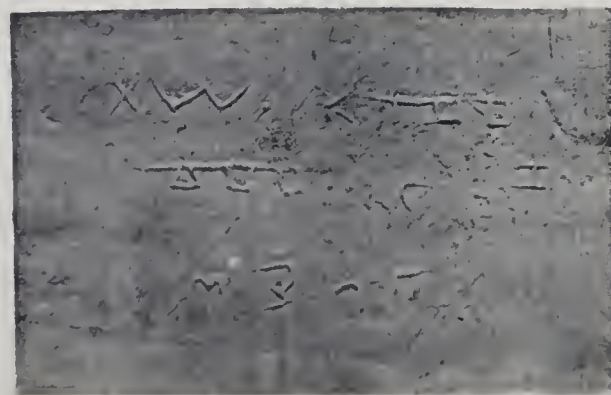
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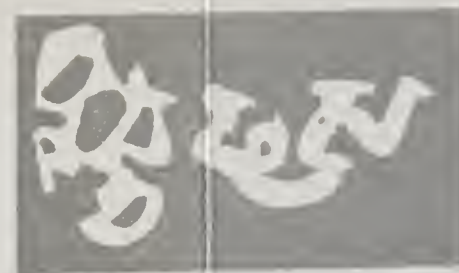
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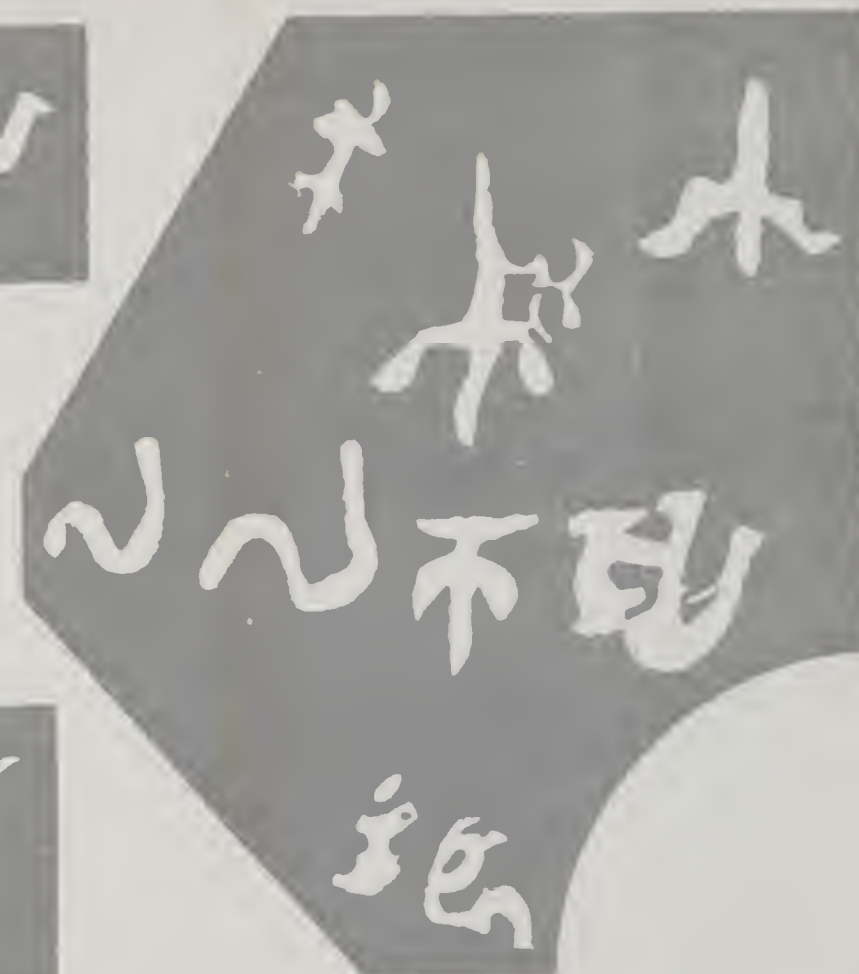
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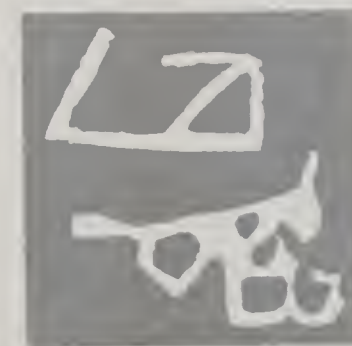
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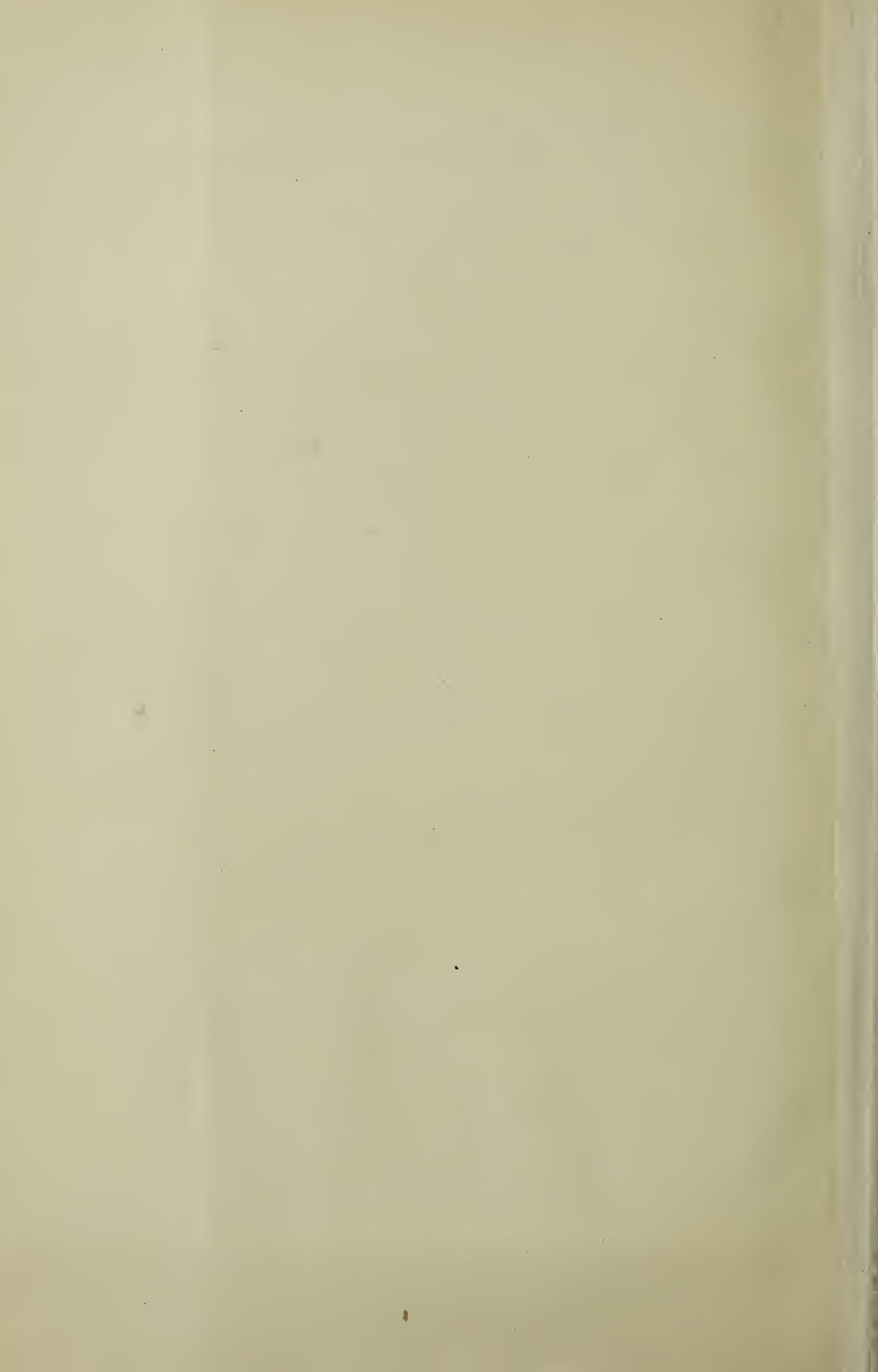
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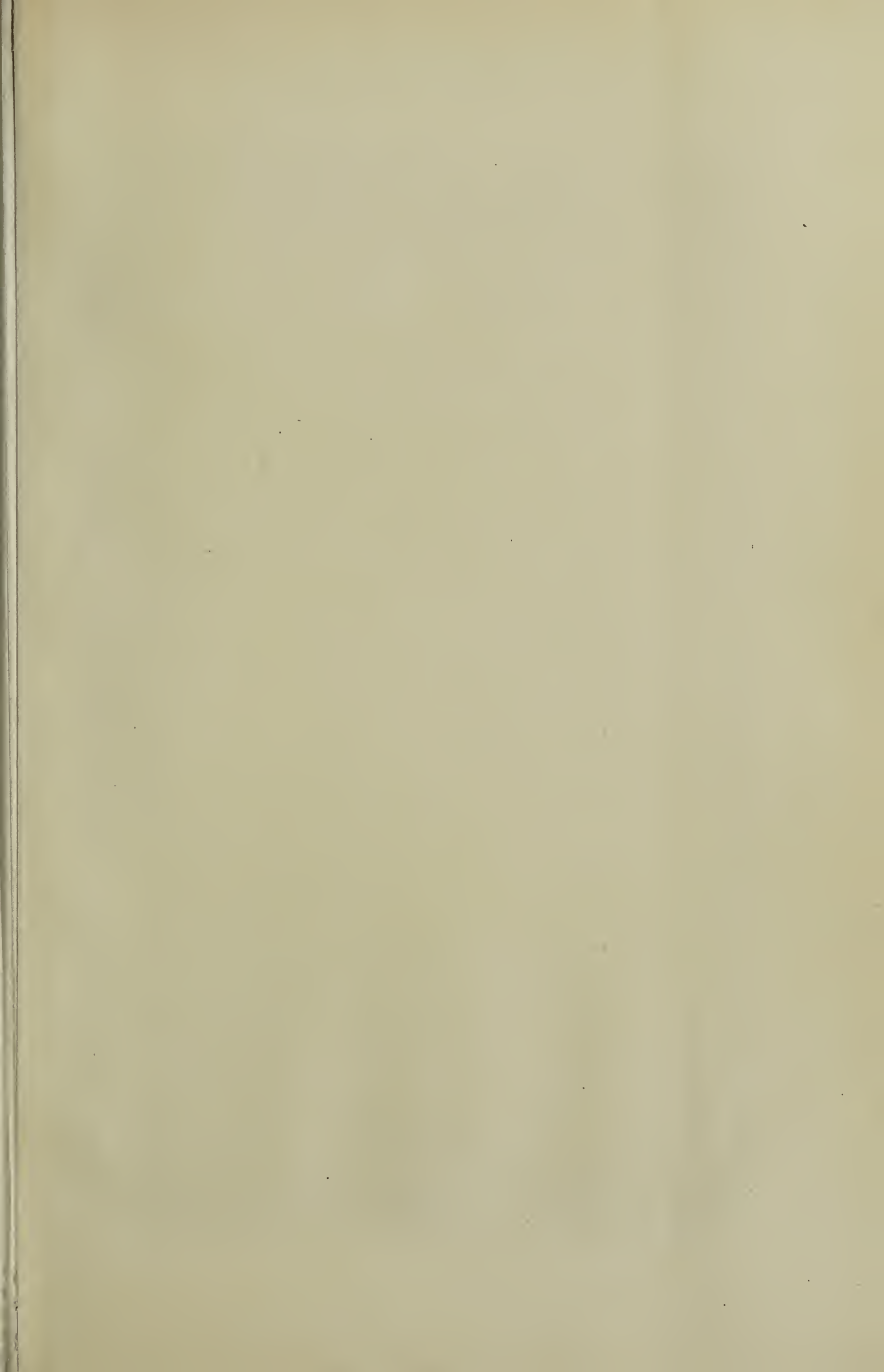


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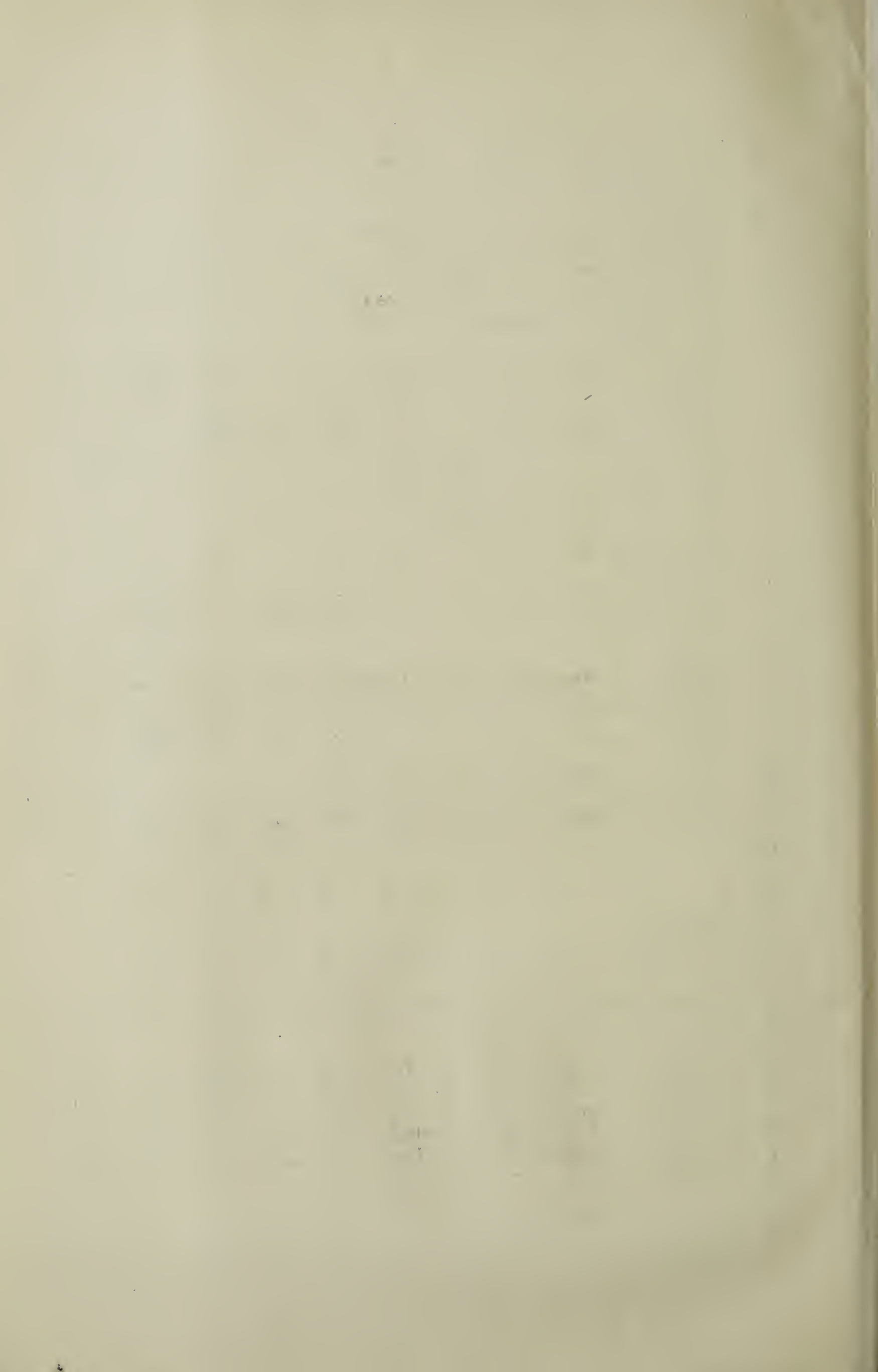
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Survey of India Offices. Calcutta, April, 1898.

Ser. No.	Name of King.	Date A. D. (about.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
			r	y		Anusvāra		Final t		Final n		Final m					
						Full	Trun- cated	Full	Trun- cated	Full	Trun- cated	Full	Trun- cated	Full	Trun- cated	Full	Special
1	Dharma Pāla	840 — 875	𑂔	𑂕				𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
2	Nārāyaṇa Pāla	925 — 950	𑂔	𑂕	(6) 𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
3	Bala Varman	975 — 1000	𑂔	𑂕				𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
4	Ratna Pāla	1010 — 1050	𑂔	𑂕	(7) 𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
5	Indra Pāla	1050 — 1070	𑂔	𑂕	(2) 𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
6	Vijaya Sēna	1070 — 1090	𑂔	𑂕	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
7	Lakṣmaṇa Sēna	1119 — 1145	𑂔	𑂕	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
8	Vaidya Dēva	1140 — 1160	𑂔	𑂕	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕
9	Modern Bangālī		𑂔	𑂕	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕	𑂔	𑂕





COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA. THE SEAL.

Photo-etching.

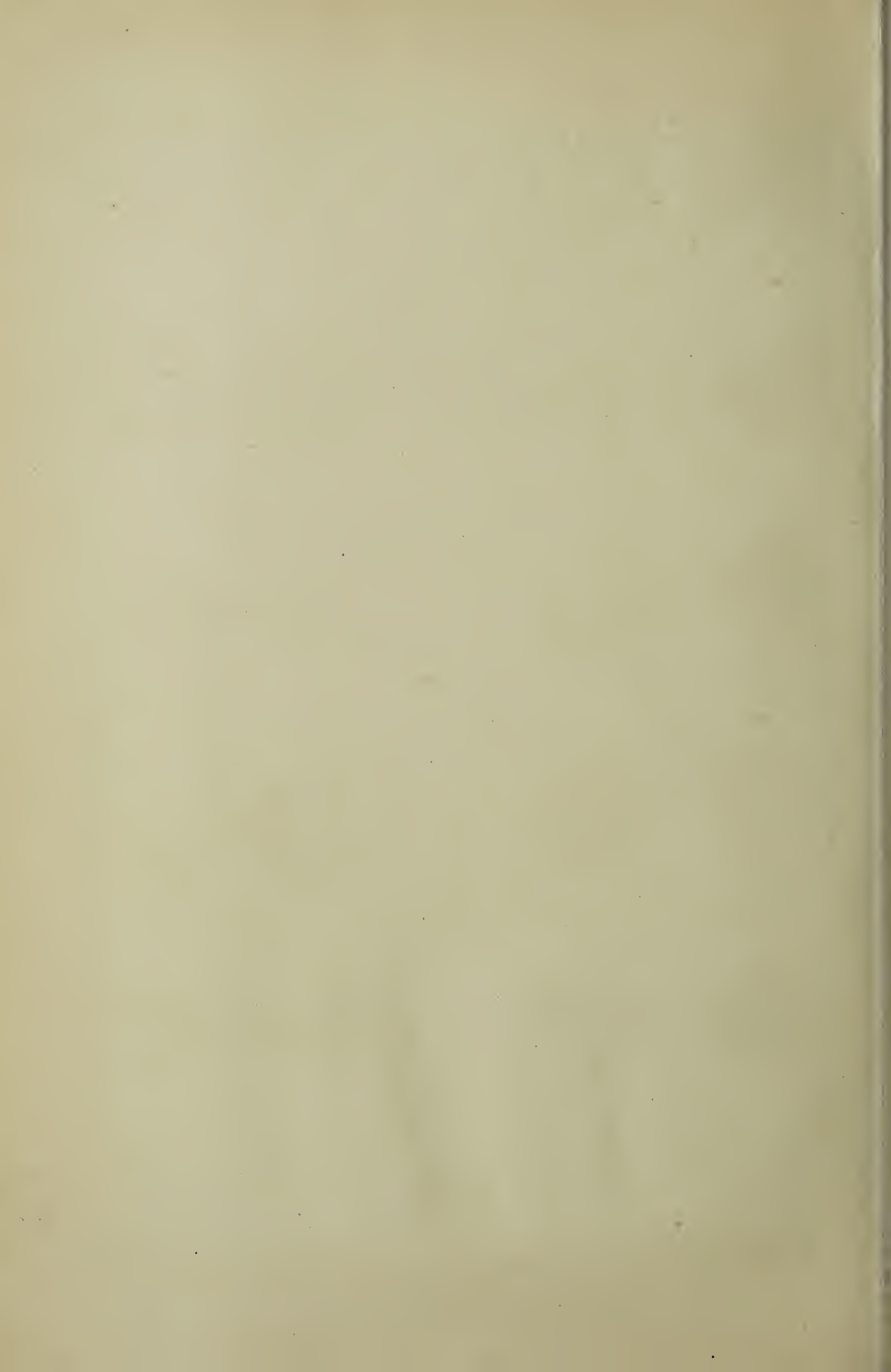
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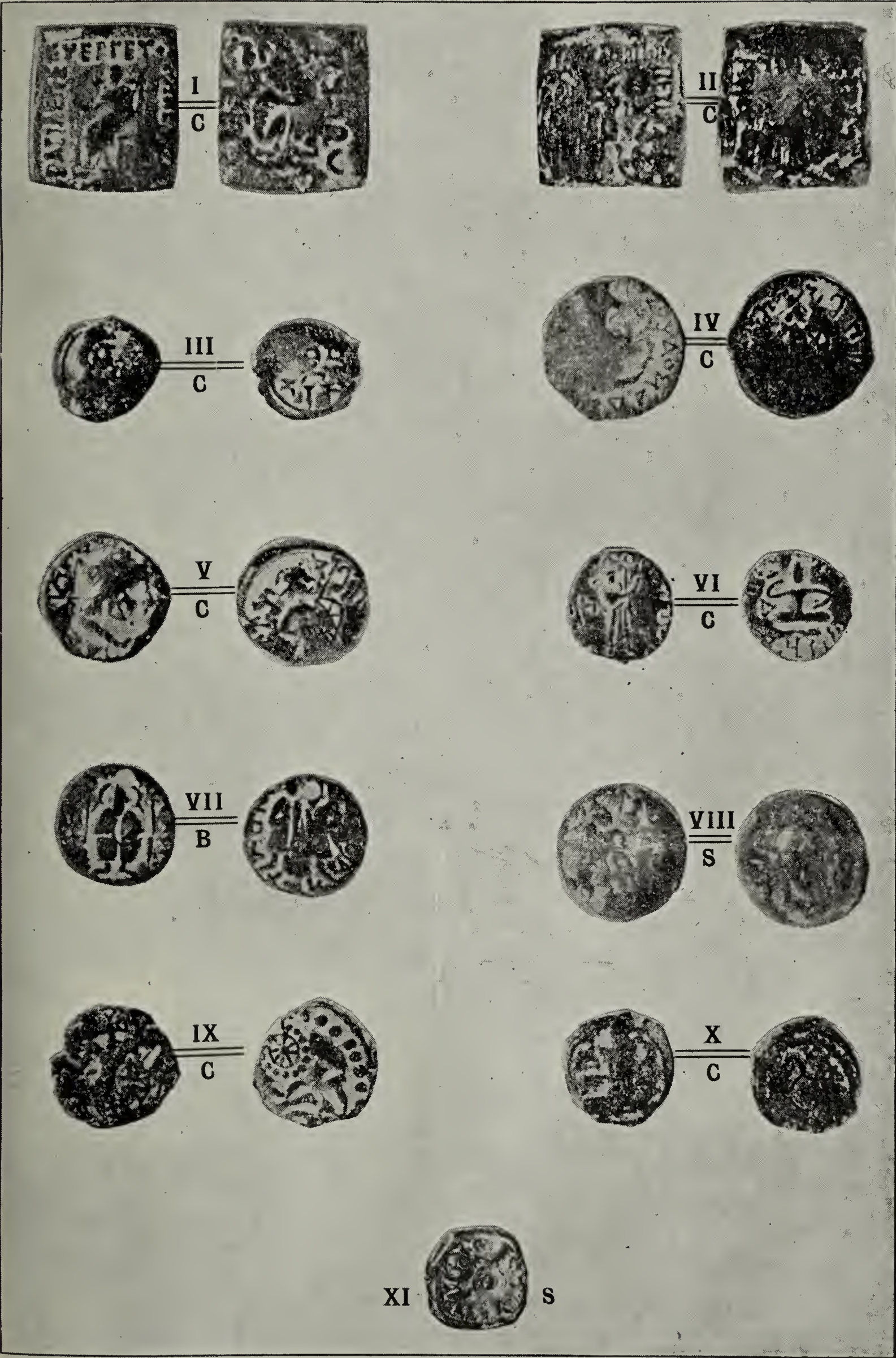
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA OF PRĀGJYŌTIṢA ĀSĀM.

[illegible]

39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45.

A OF PRĀGJYŌTISA ĀSĀM.





Numismatic Novelties.

